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YAKṢAS

(With 23 Plates)

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(With Twenty-three Plates)

1. INTRODUCTION

In centuries preceding the Christian era, when the fusion of races in India had already far advanced, the religion of India passed through its greatest crises and underwent the most profound changes. Vedic ritual, indeed, has survived in part up to the present day; but the religious outlook of medieval and modern India is so profoundly different from that of the Vedic period, as known to us from the extant literature, that we cannot apply to both a common designation; medieval and modern Hinduism is one thing, Vedic Brahmanism another. The change is twofold, at once inward and spiritual, and outward and formal.

No doubt we are sufficiently aware of the spiritual revolution indicated in the Upaniṣads and Buddhism, whereby the emphasis was shifted from the outer world to the inner life, salvation became the highest goal, and knowledge the means of attainment. But while this philosophic development and spiritual coming of age have gradually perfumed (to use a characteristically Indian phrase) the whole of Indian civilization, there are here a background and ultimate significance given to the social order, rather than the means of its actual integration; the philosophy of the Upaniṣads, the psychology of Buddhism, indeed, were originally means only for those who had left behind them the life of a householder, and thus in their immediate application anti-social. But few in any generation are ripe for the attainment of spiritual emancipation, and were it otherwise the social order could not survive. The immediate purpose of Indian civilization is not Nirvāṇa or Mokṣa, but Dharma; not a desertion of the household life, but the fulfillment of function. And here, in Karma-yoga, the spiritual support is found, not in pure knowledge, but in devotion to higher powers, personally conceived, and directly approached by appropriate offices (*pūjā*) and means (*sādhanā*). In the words of the *Bhagavad Gītā:* "He who on earth doth not follow the wheel (of activity) thus revolving, liveth in vain. . . . . He that doeth that which should be done, he is the true Monk, the true Yogī.

not the recluse who refrains from actions. . . . . Whatsoever thou doest, do thou that as an offering to Me; thus shalt thou be liberated. . . . . He who offereth to Me with devotion a leaf, a flower, a fruit, or water, that I accept. . . . . Howsoever men approach Me, even so do I welcome them, for the path men take from every side is Mine."

In the earlier Vedic books there is a total absence of many of these most fundamental features of Hinduism properly so called; it is only in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads (and afterwards, much more definitely in the Epics) that the ideas of *Saṁsāra* (the cycle of birth and rebirth), *Karma* (causality), religious asceticism and Yoga, and *Bhakti* (devotion to a personal deity) begin to appear, and the same applies to the cults of Śiva, Krishna, Yakṣas, Nāgas, innumerable goddesses, and localized deities generally. It is natural and reasonable to assume that these ideas and deities derive, not from the Vedic Aryan tradition, but, as De la Vallée-Poussin expresses it, from " un certain fond commun, très riche, et que nous ne connaissons pas parfaitement." [1]

There is much to be said for Fergusson's view (*Tree and Serpent Worship,* p. 244) that " Tree and Serpent worship," *i. e.*, the worship of Yakṣas and Nāgas, powers of fertility and rainfall, " was the primitive faith of the aboriginal casteless Dasyus who inhabited northern India before the advent of the Aryans." But in using language of this kind, a certain degree of caution is necessary; for, in the nature of things, it is only the popular and devotional aspect of these " primitive faiths " of which we are able to recover the traces, and there may well have existed esoteric and more philosophical phases of the same beliefs. We do not know how much of Indian philosophy should really be traced to Āgamic rather than Vedic origins. Indians themselves have always believed in the existence of theistic scriptures, the Āgamas, coeval in antiquity with the Vedas; and if the existence of

[1] For these groups of ideas as foreign to the Vedas, and for their indigenous source, see De la Vallée-Poussin, *Indo-Européens et Indo-Iraniens; L'Inde jusque vers 300 av. J. C.,* Paris, 1924, pp. 303, 315-6, 320, etc.; Senart, E., *Castes,* pp. xvi-xvii; Jacobi, H., *The Gaina Sutras,* S. B. E., XXII, p. xxi; Keith, A. B., *Religion and philosophy of the Veda,* Harvard Oriental Series, vols. 31, 32, pp. 132, 193, 258; Macdonell, A., *Vedic Mythology,* pp. 153, 154; Vogel, J. Ph., *Indian Serpent lore,* 1926; Charpentier, J., *Über den Begriff und die Etymologie von pūjā,* Festgabe Hermann Jacobi, 1926.

It is to be noticed that all the clans particularly associated (so far as the materials here relied upon are concerned) with Yakṣa worship, are by no means completely Brahmanised, and probably are not of Aryan origin (De la Vallée-Poussin, *L'Inde . . . .*, p. 182).

such scriptures is beyond proof, it is at least certain that religious traditions, which must be spoken of as Āgamic in contradistinction to Vedic, are abundant and must reach far back into the past. This past, moreover, has been proved by recent archeological discoveries to have been much more ancient and to have been characterized by a much higher culture than had been formerly recognized. And we know so well the continuity of Indian racial psychology during the historical period, that we cannot but believe that long before this period begins the Indians had been, as they are today, essentially worshippers of personal deities.

In the beginning, when Aryans and non-Aryans were at war, in the period of military conquest and greatest social exclusiveness, and before the two elements had learned to live together, or had evolved a conception of life covering and justifying all its phases, a divergence between the two types of religious consciousness had been profound; in those days the despised worshippers of the *śiśna* (phallus) might not approach the Aryan sacrifice. As time passed the dividing lines grew fainter, and in the end there was evolved a faith so tolerant and so broad that it could embrace in a common theological scheme all grades of religious practise, from that of the pure monist to that of savages living in the forests and practising human sacrifice.

Now, regarding the accomplished fact, it is not always easy to distinguish the separate elements that made so great a creative achievement possible. We are apt both to over- and underestimate the significance of what we describe as primitive animism.

Hinduism, quantitatively regarded, is a worship of one deity under various aspects, and of genii and saints and demons, whose aid may be invoked either for spiritual or for altogether material ends. This Hinduism, in the period we have referred to, broadly speaking, that of the last three centuries before Christ, was not so much coming into existence for the first time, as coming into consciousness and prominence.

Dr. Vogel, in *Indian Serpent Lore,* has very recently and very admirably studied the old Indian (or perhaps we ought rather to say, the Indian aspect of the widespread Asiatic) cult of Nāgas or Dragons, guardian spirits of the Waters.

In the following pages I have attempted to bring together, from literary and monumental sources, material sufficient to present a fairly clear picture of an even more important phase of non- and pre-Aryan Indian "animism," the worship of Yakṣas and Yakṣīs, and to indicate its significance in religious history and iconographic evolution.

2. YAKṢAS AND YAKṢATTVA ("GENI-HOOD")

The status of a Yakṣa as typically represented (1) in the later sectarian literature and (2) in modern folklore will yield an imperfect, and indeed an altogether erroneous idea of the original significance of Yakṣattva if not examined with cautious reservations. As remarked by Mrs. Rhys Davids:[1]

> The myth of the yakkha, and its evolution still, I believe, await investigation. The English equivalent does not exist. "Geni" (djinn) is perhaps nearest (cf. *Pss. of the Sisters,* p. 30). In the early records, yakkha as an appellation is, like nāga, anything but depreciative. Not only is Sakka so called (M. 1, 252), but the Buddha himself is so referred to in poetic diction (M. 1, 383).[2]
>
> We have seen Kakudha, son of the gods, so addressed (*Kindred Sayings,* II, 8); and in D. II, 170 the city of the gods, Alakamandā, is described as crowded with Yakkhas ("gods"). They have a deva's supernormal powers. . . . . But they were decadent creatures, degraded in the later era, when the stories of the Jātaka verses were set down, to the status of red-eyed cannibal ogres.

And it may be added that it was only natural that in losing their importance as tutelary deities, the Yakṣas in popular folklore, influenced no doubt by the prejudices already referred to as apparent in the sectarian literature, should likewise have come to be classed with the demoniac Rākṣasas.[3] Their fate in this connection may be compared with that of the Devas at the hands of Zoroaster, or that of the older European mythology under the influence of Christianity (*e. g.,* in Saxo Grammaticus). Notwithstanding this, it is quite possible to gather both from the sectarian and the semi-secular literature a great deal of information incidentally presenting unmistakable evidences of the Yakṣas' once honorable status, their benevolence toward men,

[1] *Book of the Kindred Sayings,* I, 1917, p. 262. In the above citation, M. is *Majjhima Nikāya* and D. is *Dialogues of the Buddha.* An excellent article on Yakkhas in Buddhist literature will be found under *Yakkha* in the P. T. S. Pali Dictionary.

[2] Elsewhere the Buddha finds it necessary to say that he is not a Deva, Gandhabba, or Yakkha (*Anguttara Nikāya,* II, 37).

[3] For gigantic or cannibal Yakṣas see *Kathāsaritsāgara,* Tawney, I, pp. 127, 337, II, p. 594. For the cult of Yakṣas (Siṁhalese, *Yakā*) surviving as "devil-worship" in Ceylon see Callaway, *Yakkun Nattanawā,* London, 1829; Upham, E., *History and doctrine of Buddhism,* 1829; Parker, *Ancient Ceylon,* London, 1909, Ch. IV and Yakā, Yakkhas in Index (p. 153, a dead man speaking in a dream says, "I am now a Yakā"). For an excellent general account of non-Aryan deities, local and tutelary, beneficent and malevolent, see Whitehead, H., *The village gods of South India,* Oxford, 1916 ("in many villages the shrine is simply a rough stone platform under a tree"), also Mitra, S. C., *Village deities of Northern Bengal,* Hindustan Review, February, 1922, and Enthoven, R. E., *The folklore of Bombay,* Pt. III, *Tree and snake worship.*

and the affection felt by men toward them. As remarked by Lévi (*loc. cit. infra*), "le Yakṣa est essentiellement un personage divin étroitement associé par la tradition aux souvenirs locaux . . . . ils rappellent de bien près nos saints patronaux."

The word Yakṣa[1] is first found in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (III, 203, 272), where, however, it means nothing more than "a wondrous thing." In the sense of a "spirit" or genius, usually associated with Kubera (the chief of Yakṣas) it does not appear before the period of the *Gṛhya Sūtras* where Yakṣas are invoked together with a numerous and very miscellaneous host of other major and minor deities, all classed as Bhūtas,[2] "Beings," in the Gṛhya ritual at the close of Vedic studies;[3] in a somewhat later book they are possessing spirits of disease.[4] The *Śānkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* mentions Māṇibhadra.

In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* Kubera is a Rākṣasa and lord of robbers and evil-doers: this may only mean that he was an aboriginal deity, alien to Brahman orthodoxy. In the Sūtras he is invoked with Īsāna for the husband in the marriage ritual, and his hosts plague children (cf. Hāritī in her original character).

The following Yakṣas and Devatās are represented and named at Bharhut: Supavasu Yakho, Virudhako Yakho, Gaṅgita Yakho, Suciloma Yakho, Kupiro Yakho (Kuvera), Ajakālako Yakho; Sudasana Yakhi, Cadā (Candā) Yakhi; Sirimā Devatā, Culakoka Devatā, Mahakoka Devatā.

Yakṣas by name or as a class are much more familiar figures in the Epics. In the *Rāmāyaṇa,* 3, 11, 94, we find *yakṣattva amaratvam ca,* "spirithood and immortality" together, as boons bestowed by a god or gods. Men of the Sāttvik ("pure") class worship the gods (Devas), those of the Rājasik ("passionate") class, Yakṣas and

[1] The word Yakṣa occurs in the following forms, which are here retained in citations:

Sanskrit, *Yakṣa, (f.) Yakṣī, Yakṣiṇī:* Pali, *Yakkha, Yakkhī, Yakkhiṇī:* Prakrit, *Jakkha, Jakkhiṇī;* Siṁhalese, *Yakā, Yakī.*

The word is perhaps of indigenous non-Aryan origin. The later *Rāmāyaṇa* proposes an explanation which looks like mere folk etymology: Brahmā created beings to guard the waters, and of these some cried "rakṣāmah," "let us guard," and others "yakṣāmah," "let us gobble," becoming thus Rākṣasas and Yakṣas. The idea is perhaps derived from the big belly which is the most constant feature in Yakṣa iconography.

[2] Śiva is "Bhūteśvara," and Yakṣas are often called Bhūtas; the word Bhūta may mean "those who have become (Yakṣas)," cf. *Mahāvaṁsa,* Ch. X, verse *yakkha-bhūta,* "those that had become Yakṣas."

[3] *Śānkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra,* IV, 9; *Āśvalāyana G. S.,* III, 4; *Pāraskara G. S.,* II, 12. (Keith, *Religion and philosophy of the Veda,* p. 213.)

[4] *Mānava Gṛhya Sūtra,* II, 14: Keith, *ib.* p. 242.

Rākṣasas, those of the Tāmasik ("dark") class, Pretas and Bhūtas (*Mahābhārata*, 6, 41, 4); in other words, the Yakṣas are ranked below the Devas, but above the goblins and ghosts and here distinguished from Bhūtas. But very often they are not clearly distinguished from Devas and Devatās. The Yakṣas are sometimes sylvan deities, usually but not always gentle, like the Vanadevatās (Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 57; *Āṭānāṭīya Suttanta*).

Kubera or Kuvera (Vaiśravaṇa, Vaiśramaṇa, also in Buddhist literature Vessavaṇa, Pāñcika, Jambhala, etc.),[1] is one of the Four Great Kings (Mahārājas), or Eight Great Devas, a Lokapāla, Regent of the North (sometimes, with Indra, of the East), and the chief of all Yakṣas, whence his epithets Yakṣendra, Deva Yakṣarāja, etc. He is a god of power and productivity: worshipped especially for treasure (as Dhanada, Vasuda, giving wealth).[2] His city Āḷaka situated on Mt. Kailāsa (also the abode of Śiva) is a magnificent walled town, where dwell not only Yakṣas, but also Kiṁnaras, Munis, Gandharvas and Rākṣasas. Very possibly, as M. Goloubew (Ars Asiatica, X) has suggested, the whole of the ceiling of Cave I at Ajaṇṭā may be regarded as a representation of the Paradise of Kuvera. When Kubera repairs to a convention of the gods, he is accompanied by a great host of Yakṣas, collectively designated *Vaiśravaṇa-kāyika-devas*.

Kubera has many beautiful palaces, groves, gardens, etc., on Mt. Kailāsa. These need not be referred to in detail, but it may be remarked of the grove Caitraratha that its trees have jewels for their leaves and girls as their fruits.[3]

The cult of the Lokapālas or Four Great Kings (N. Vaiśravaṇa, E. Dhṛtarāṣṭra, S. Virūḍhaka, W. Virūpākṣa) was extensively developed in Khotān, where they are represented as standing on demon *vāhanams*.[4] Vaiśravaṇa is here very frequently represented with

[1] For Jambhala see Foucher, *L'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, I, p. 123, and II, p. 51; his śakti is Vasundhārā, the Earth-goddess. He may be surrounded by eight Yakṣiṇīs, Bhadrā, Subhadrā, etc. (ibid., II, 85).

[2] He might be styled Mammon: but not in a bad sense of the word, for from the Indian point of view wealth, prosperity and beauty are rewards of innate virtue, of which, according to the doctrine of *Karma*, Mammon could only be the dispenser. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, 12, 74, 3 f.

[3] Both motifs are of interest on account of their occurrence in decorative art, the Bharhut coping reliefs showing many forms of jewel-bearing creepers (*kalpa-latā*), and medieval art, especially in Ceylon (*nārī-latā* designs, plate 22, fig. 3) many examples of creepers with girls as their flower or fruit. The latter motif, too, may have some connection with the later Arab legends of the Wāqwāq tree.

[4] Stein, *Ancient Khotān*, figs. 30, 31, and pl. II; *Serindia*, p. 870.

shoulder flames. In this connection it should be safe to identify the flaming Kankālī Ṭīlā figure (pl. 16, fig. 2) with Vaiśravaṇa; the corpulent body in any case is that of a Yakṣa, and the flames represent the fiery energy inherent in a king.

Of Kubera's Yakṣa followers we learn a good deal: they possess the power of assuming any shape, the females particularly that of a very beautiful woman (so that an unknown beauty is asked if she be the goddess of the district, or a Yakṣī);[1] they are kindly, but can fight fiercely as guardians (Kubera himself is a "world-protector," and it is chiefly as attendants, guardians and gate-keepers that the Yakṣas appear in Buddhist art, equally in India and in the Far East); they are sometimes specifically grouped with Nāgas, more often with gods, Gandharvas and Nāgas; they are known as "good folk" (*Puṇyajana*) and appear to be countless in number, though few are individually named. Māṇibhadra (Maṇivara, Maṇicara, Maṇimat) in the *Mahābhārata* (5, 192, 44 f.) is a Yakṣarāja, and Kubera's chief attendant. He is invoked with Kubera as a patron of merchants; this may be the explanation of the statue at Pawāyā, set up by a guild (*goṣṭha*) (pl. 1, fig. 2).[2]

Gaṇeśa is undoubtedly a Yakṣa type, by his big belly and general character: but he is not cited by name in any lists. He is effectively and perhaps actually equivalent to Kubera or Māṇibhadra.[3] But the earliest representation of an elephant-headed Yakṣa seems to be that of the Amarāvatī coping, Burgess, *Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta,* plate XXX, 1 (here pl. 23, fig. 1); and this is not a Yakṣarāja, but more like a *guhya* or *gaṇa.* Gaṇeśa is son of Śiva, who is himself called Gaṇeśa (Lord of hosts) in the *Mahābhārata.* Gaṇeśa as elephant-headed deity does not appear in the Epic except in the introduction which is a late addition. The figure of Gaṇeśa begins to appear quite commonly in Gupta art, about 400 A. D., *e. g.,* at Bhumara, plate 18, figure 1; at Deogaṛh (pilaster left of the Anantaśayin panel).

There is some confusion of Yakṣas and Rākṣasas, who according to one tradition have a common origin; both have good and evil qualities, benevolent and malevolent as the case may be; very often the same descriptions would apply to either, but the two classes are not identical, and broadly speaking we find the Yakṣas associated with

[1] *Mahābhārata,* Vana Parva, Ch. CCLXIII (Draupadī).

[2] There exists a "story of the Mahāyakṣa Māṇibhadra" in MS.; see Hoernle in Congr. Int. Orientalistes, 12, Rome, 1899, Vol. I, p. 165.

[3] Cf. Scherman, *Dickbauchtypen in der indischen Götterwelt,* Jahrb. as. Kunst, I, 1724. Also M. F. A. Bulletin, No. 154.

Kubera, the Rākṣasas with Rāvaṇa, who is their chief. Yakṣas as a rule are kindly, Rākṣasas bloodthirsty.[1]

Yakṣas are not only the attendants, but also the bearers of their Lord Vaiśravaṇa. They play, indeed, the part of bearers or supporters in all kinds of situations where their attitude is one of friendly service; thus, they are constantly represented as supporting the four legs of Kaṇṭhaka, on the occasion of the Abhiniṣkramaṇa (Great Renunciation, or Going Forth of the Buddha).[2] They bear, too, the pavilion in which the Bodhisattva descends to take incarnation in the womb of Māyā Devī (pl. 21, fig. 1). In connection with Vaiśravaṇa, and other deities, the Guhyas appear in crouching dwarfish forms as supporters; in fact, as "vehicles" (*vāhanam*) as in plate 3, figure 1, etc. Some of these types have been preserved with remarkable fidelity in Far Eastern art, in the case, for example, of the Jikoku-Ten of the Kondō, Nara, Japan,[3] so closely resembling the Kubera from Bharhut (pl. 3, fig. 1), and the Śiva figure of the Guḍimallam liṅgam (pl. 17, fig. 1). In the case of Śiva, the Yakṣa vehicle in later images (Naṭarāja, etc.) has come to be regarded as a demoniac symbol of spiritual darkness (*apasmāra puruṣa,* or *mala*).

Kuvera is also "Naravāhana," but the Naras here in question are not men, but mythological beings variously described, sometimes as bird horses, which may possibly explain the occasional representation of winged Atlantes (pl. 13, figs. 2 and 3, also Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique . . . .*, fig. 314). The interpretation Naravāhana = borne by men, is later.

As Atlantes, supporters of buildings and superstructures (pl. 13, figs. 1, 2, 3), and as garland-bearers (pl. 23, figs. 1, 2) Yakṣas are constantly represented in early Indian art (Bharhut, Sāñcī, Gandhāra, etc.). Those who support Kuvera's flying palace are designated Guhyas (*Mahābhārata,* 2, 10, 3); Kuvera is Guhyapati. The Guhyas are essentially earth-gnomes (cf. pl. 13, fig. 1). The Yakṣiṇī of *Kathāsaritsāgara,* ch. XXXVII, who carries a man through the air, is called a Guhyakī.

Some Yakṣagrahas (demon possessors, causing disease) are attendants of Skanda, who is sometimes called Guha, a name which

[1] For a detailed summary of the Epic accounts of Kubera and the Yakṣas, see Hopkins, *Epic Mythology,* p. 142 ff., also pp. 30, 38, 57, 67 ff., 145, 148, etc. See also Waddell, *Evolution of the Buddhist cult,* J. R. A. S. Any connection with the Greek Kabeiros is very improbable (Keith).

[2] E. g., Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddique du Gandhāra,* 1, pp. 357, 554 ff., and figs. 182-4, ch.; Stein, *Serindia,* p. 858.

[3] For the Nara figure see *Nara Horyūjī Okagami,* Vol. 38, pl. 7, or Warner, *Japanese sculpture of the Suiko period,* fig. 35.

may be related to the Guhyas, attendants of Kuvera (Hopkins, *Epic Mythology,* pp. 145, 229).

Yakṣas (like Nāgas) are sometimes regarded as constructive or artistic genii: thus Hsüan Tsang, Bk. VIII, speaks of the Aśokan remains at Pāṭaliputra as having been built by genii (Yakṣas).[1]

Kubera himself can be regarded as the first smelter of gold.[2]

Comparatively few individual Yakṣiṇīs are mentioned by name; the *Mahābhārata* (3, 83, 23) speaks of a Yakṣiṇī shrine at Rājagṛha as "world-renowned." But it is beyond doubt that Yakṣiṇīs were extensively worshipped, in part as beneficent, in part as malevolent beings. In the latter aspect they do not differ essentially from their modern descendants, such as the Bengali Sītalā, goddess of smallpox, or Olābībī, goddess of cholera. The Seven Mothers (who are in part connected with Kubera), the Sixty-four Joginīs, the Ḍākinīs, and some forms of Devī, in medieval and modern cults, must have been Yakṣiṇīs. In Southern India, indeed, to the present day, nearly all the village deities are feminine. Mīnākṣī, to whom as wife of Śiva, the great temple at Madura is dedicated, was originally a daughter of Kubera, therefore a Yakṣiṇī. Durgā was originally a goddess worshipped by savage tribes.

The case of Hāritī is too well known to need a long discussion. To sum up her story, she was originally a Magadhan tutelary goddess, wife of Pāñcika and residing at Rājagṛha; she was not ill-disposed, for her name Nandā means Joy. She was called even in Hsüan Tsang's time the Mother of Yakṣas, and the people prayed to her for offspring. But Buddhist legend has it that she had begun to destroy the children of Rājagṛha by smallpox, and so earned the name of Hāritī, "Thief," by which she is known to Buddhism; metaphorically, she was said to "devour" them, and is represented as an ogress, and it was as an ogress that the Buddha encountered her. The Buddha adopts the expedient of hiding her last-born child (Piṅgala, who had been a human being in a previous life, the Yakṣa birth being here a penalty); she realizes the pain she has been causing others, and becomes a convert; but as she can no longer seek her accustomed food, the Buddha promises that she shall receive regular offerings from pious Buddhists, as a patroness of children and fertility. This reads more like an explanation or justification of a cult than a true account

[1] Beal, *Buddhist Records,* II, p. 93. *Cf.* also Laufer, *Citralakṣaṇa,* pp. 189, 190, where a late Tibetan author ascribes Aśoka's works at Bodhgayā to Yakṣas and Nāgas, and speaks of certain Indian medieval sculpture and paintings as like the art-work of the Yakṣas.

[2] Hopkins, *Epic Mythology,* p. 146.

of its origin; probably this was the best way to provide an edifying sanction for an ancient animistic cult too strong to be subverted. Hāritī is also constantly represented together with Pāñcika, forming a Tutelary Pair (Gandhāra, Mathurā, Java, etc., pl. 15, fig. 1; pl. 21, figs. 3-5).[1]

A Yakkhiṇī by name, or rather, epithet, Assa-mukhi ("horse-faced") plays an important part in the *Padakusalamāṇava* Jātaka. There may be specific reference to this *Jātaka* whenever a horse-headed Yakkhiṇī is represented on the medallions of Buddhist railings[2] (pl. 12, fig. 1). But the Kiṁnaras and Kiṁpuruṣas, and Gandharvas too, typically half-human, half-equine, are a class of beings frequenting forests and mountains (cf. the *vaḷava-mukha* Cetiyā, of Paṇḍukābhaya, *infra,* p. 16) and as such are sometimes naturally represented as a part of the scenery, and in such cases there need be no reference to the *Jātaka.*[3]

In the *Maṇicūḍāvadāna* a Yakṣiṇī undertakes to bring about a marriage, and to this end has the marriage "represented" (*mūrtivaivāhikaṁ karma,* presumably in a painting).[4]

In the Jaina *Bhagavatī Sūtra* (Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo,* Appendix) Puṇṇabhadda and Māṇibhadda are called powerful Devas, and they appear together to those who practise certain austerities. Another work gives the following list of "Devas" who are obedient to Vaiśramana: Puṇṇabhadda, Māṇibhadda, Salibhadda, Sumaṇabhadda,

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[1] For Hāritī see Foucher, *The Buddhist Madonna,* and *Tutelary Pair,* in *The beginnings of Buddhist art; L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara;* Vogel, *The Mathura school of sculpture,* A. S. I., A. R., 1909-10, p. 77; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang,* I, 216; Beal, *Records . . . .,* I, 110; Waddell, *Lamaism,* p. 99; Chavannes, in T'oung Pao, 1904, p. 496 f.

[2] Mitra, R., *Buddha-Gayā,* pl. XXXIV, 2; Foucher, in Mem. conc. l'Asie orientale, III, 1919, pl. I; Waddell, *Report on excavations at Pāṭaliputra,* pl. I. Perhaps also Ajaṇṭā, Cave XVII (Griffiths, pl. 142, b).

[3] At Bhājā, HIIA, fig. 27, lower r. corner; Mandor, HIIA, fig. 166. Kiṁnaras in Indian literature and art are of two types (1) horse-headed, as above, and (2) half bird, half human (siren type). Both kinds are musical, and may be classed in this respect with Gandharvas. The masculine horse-headed type is rare: examples in *Cat. Ind. Collections, Boston, V. Rajput Painting,* No. CLIX (called Gandharvas, one Nārada), and in Arts et Archéologie khmèrs, II, fig. 56, *bis.* Most likely the horse-headed type is not a Kiṁnara at all.

[4] In the *Svayambhu Purāṇa,* De la Vallée Poussin, J. R. A. S., 1894, p. 315. Here we have the normal connection of Yakṣinīs with human marriage. The *mūrti-vaivāhika* motif appears also in Bhāṣa's *Svapnavāsavadatta,* and is represented in a Rajput Painting of the eighteenth century (*Cat. Ind. Coll.,* V, *Rajput paintings,* p. 189).

Cakṣurakṣa, Puṛṇarakṣa, Savvana, Savvajasa, Savakāma, Samiddha,[1] Amohe, Asaṁta. It may be remarked incidentally that nearly all these names of Yakṣas are auspicious, implying fullness, increase, prosperity, etc.

As we have seen, Yakkhas are often called Devas in the Jaina books, where, as Śāsana Devatās, they are usually guardian angels. But it is not at all clear whether the " false and lying Devas " who persecute the followers of Mahāvīra in the *Uvāsagadasāo,* §§ 93 f., 224, etc., are to be regarded as Yakkhas or not. That they should be so regarded in one case at least (§ 164) is suggested by the fact that the Deva here appears in an *asoga* (aśoka)-grove and takes possession of objects laid on an altar. It may also be remarked that the Deva of § 93 is an expert shape-shifter, which is a characteristic power for Yakkhas; the text speaks of the " Pisāya (Piśāca) form of the Deva," and it may be that the Yakkhas, like the more orthodox Brāhmaṇical deities had their *śānta* and *ugra* forms. But even if these false and lying Devas are Yakkhas, it need not be forgotten that their objectionable qualities are emphasized in the interests of Jaina edification.

The Āṭānāṭīya Suttanta (*Digha Nikāya,* III 195 f.),[2] however, speaks of good and bad Yakkhas, the latter being rebels to the Four Great Kings (Kubera, etc.). If any of these assail a Buddhist monk or layman, he is to appeal to the higher Yakkhas; Vessavaṇa himself supplies to the Buddha the proper invocation, and gives a list of the Yakkha chiefs; the list includes Ind(r)a, Soma, Varuṇa, Pajāpati,[3] Maṇi (-bhadda), Āḷavaka, etc. It will be observed that the first four mentioned are orthodox Brāhmaṇical deities; but this is not the only place in which Indra (Sakka) is spoken of as a Yakkha. Vessavaṇa (Kubera) goes on to say that there are Yakkhas of all ranks who do, and others who do not believe in the Buddha, " But for the most part, Lord, Yakkhas do not believe in the Exalted One." [4]

Another list of Yakṣas is to be found in the *Mahāmāyūrī,*[5] a work which goes back to the third or fourth century A. D. In this list we

[1] In *Mahāvaṁsa,* 1, 45, the Deva Samiddhisumaṇa inhabits a *rājāyatana*-tree in the Jetavana garden at Sāvatthī: he had been a man in Nāgadīpa.

[2] S. B. B., vol. 4 (*Dialogues of the Buddha,* 3). This text contains much valuable information on Yakkhas.

[3] With Pajāpati, cf. Prajāpatī, name of a Joginī, Patainī Devī temple (A. S. I., A. R., Western Circle, 1920, p. 109).

[4] A similar distinction of good and bad Yakṣas is made in *Mahāvaṁsa,* XXXI. 81, " Moreover, to ward off the evil Yakkhas the twenty-eight Yakkha chieftains stood keeping guard." The twenty-eight Yakṣarājas are again referred to in *Lalita Vistara,* Ch. XVI.

[5] Lévi, S., *Le catalogue géographique de Yakṣa dans le Mahāmāyūrī,* J. A., 1915.

find *Nandi ca Vardhanaścaiva nagare Nandivardhane,* "Nandi and Vardhana, these twain, have their seat in the city of Nandivardhana"; a Chinese commentator on the *Avataṁsaka Sūtra* has stated that this city was in Magadha, as indeed the Sūtra itself implies. All this is of interest because two Yakṣa statues (pl. 2, figs. 1 and 2) have been found near Patna, and they bear inscriptions of which one reads *yakha ta vaṭa naṁdi.* The conclusion arrived at by Gangoly, that the pair represent the tutelary Yakṣas of Nandivardhana may be correct.[1] But the *Mahāmāyūrī* list has also a Nandi Yakṣa of Nandinagara, separately mentioned. There are several Nandinagaras known; one is frequently mentioned in the Sāñcī inscriptions. It seems to me that the Patna figure designated as the Yakṣa Nandi in the inscription may just as well be Nandi of Nandinagara as Nandi of Nandivardhana; this would leave the second statue unidentified, as it is not named in the inscription. In the same list Māṇibhadra and Purṇabhadra are called brothers. Others mentioned include Viṣṇu, Kārttikeya, Śaṅkara, Vibhīṣaṇa, Krakucchanda, Suprabuddha, Duryodhana, Arjuna, Naigameśa (tutelary Yakṣa of Pañcālī), Makaradhvaja (=Kāmadeva, the Buddhist Māra), and Vajrapāṇi. The last is said to be the Yakṣa of Vulture's Peak, Rājagṛha, where is his *kṛtālaya* ("made abode," evidently a temple); in the *Yakkha Sutlas* Sakka (? Indra), who is called a Yakkha of Māra's faction, may not be the same as the Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi. Naigamesa is the well-known antelope-headed genius, Indra's commander-in-chief, who both in Brāhmanical and Jaina mythology is connected with the procreation of children.[2]

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[1] Gangoly, O. C., in Modern Review, Oct. 1919. Also Chanda, R., *Four Ancient Yakṣa statues,* Univ. of Calcutta, Anthropological Papers, 3 (Journ. Dep. Letters, IV, Calcutta, 1921), and references there cited.

[2] It will be seen that the list includes the names of orthodox Hindu deities, Epic heroes, and others. Suprabuddha in Buddhist legend is the father-in-law (rarely the grandfather) of the Buddha, and is one of the five persons who suffered condign punishment for crimes committed against the Buddha or the Order, one of the others being the Yakṣa Nandaka. Krakucchanda is a former Buddha.

Śaṅkara is one of the well-known names of Śiva, whose close connection with Yakṣas is shown in many ways, *inter alia,* by the existence of numerous temples dedicated to him under names which are those of Yakṣas, *e. g.,* the Virūpākṣa temple at Paṭṭadkadal. Śiva's followers called Pārisadas are huge-bellied like Yakṣas. Cf. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology,* pp. 221-222.

For Naigameśa(ya) (Nejameṣa, Naigameya, Hariṇegameṣī) see Winternitz in J. R. A. S., 1895, pp. 149 ff.; Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda,* p. 242. Naigameṣa in the Epic is generally a goat-faced form of Agni. As Hariṇegameṣī he plays an important part in the conception and birth legend of

In Buddhist works the Yakkhas are sometimes represented as teachers of good morals, and as guardian spirits. Thus in *Thera-therī-gāthā,* XLIV, Sānu Sutta,[1] Sānu had been the son of a Yakkhiṇī in a former birth; now this Yakkhiṇī "controlling" (as Spiritualists would say) Sānu, warns and advises his present human mother as follows:

> Your son has a tendency to roam, wherefore bid him rouse himself. Tell him what the Yakkhas say:
>
> "Do nought of evil, open or concealed,
> If evil thou doest or wilt do,
> Thou shalt not escape from evil e'en though thou flee."

But more often, as in the *Āṭānāṭīyā Suttanta,* the Yakkhas are said to be unbelievers, to whom the ethics of the Buddhas are distasteful; they "haunt the lonely and remote recesses of the forest, where noise, where sound, hardly is, where breezes from the pastures blow, hidden from men, suitable for meditation. There do eminent Yakkhas dwell, who have no faith in the word of the Exalted One."[2]

In the Vijaya legend the aboriginal inhabitants of Ceylon are called Yakkhas.[3] One of Vijaya's men follows a bitch, who is the Yakkhiṇī Kuvaṇṇā in disguise; she bewitches him, and all those who follow him, but cannot devour them, as they are protected by charmed threads. Vijaya follows, overcomes the Yakkhiṇī, and obtains the release of the men; Kuvaṇṇā takes the form of a beautiful girl, and Vijaya marries her (almost the Circe motif !). She enables him to destroy the invisible Yakkhas who inhabit the land, and he becomes

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Mahāvīra (in the *Kalpa Sūtra,* see Jacobi, S. B. E., XXII). In the *Antagaḍa Dasāo* we find him worshipped (Barnett, *Antagaḍa Dasāo,* p. 67, cited below, p. 25). He is represented in an early relief from Mathurā (Smith, *Jaina stupa of Mathura,* pl. XVII) with an inscription in which he is designated Bhagavā Nemeso; also in some other early but mutilated reliefs in the Mathurā Museum., and regularly in the illustrations to the Jaina manuscripts of the *Kalpa Sūtra* (Coomaraswamy, *Cat. Indian Collections,* Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, pt. IV).

Māra, and his hosts of deformed demons, is brilliantly represented at Sāñcī, north *toraṇa,* middle architrave, back (pl. 23, fig. 3). In a medieval relief at Sārnāth he is provided with a *makaradhvaja* (Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. India, 1904-05, p. 84): as Kāmadeva, with Rati, at Elūrā, in the Kailāsa shrine, he also has a *makaradhvaja.*

[1] Rhys Davids, *Psalms of the Brethren,* p. 48. *Cf. ibid.,* p. 245, the older and later attitude side by side, the Yakkha, though a cannibal, being invoked as the guardian of a child.

[2] *Dīgha Nikāya,* III, 195 (Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha,* Part 3, in S. B. B., IV).

[3] *Mahāvaṁsa,* Ch. VII.

king. Later, he repudiates her and marries a human princess. She returns to the Yakkhas, but is killed as a traitress. Her two children became the ancestors of the Pulindā (perhaps the Veddas, who are still worshippers of Yakkhas; perhaps as ancestors?). In this story the Yakkhas, though credited with supernatural powers, seem to be regarded as aborigines themselves.

Not only may a human being be reborn as a Yakṣa, but vice versa.[1] A very interesting case of such a rebirth appears in the Indrakīla inscription, near Bezwāḍā, of the ninth century. This inscription occurs on a stele, sculptured with reliefs illustrating the Kiratārjuna episode of the *Mahābhārata;* the stele was set up by one Trikoṭṭi-Boyu, who regarded himself as an incarnation of the friendly Yakṣa who at Indra's behest guided Arjuna to the inaccessible Indrakīla hill, there to wrestle with Śiva and to receive the *Pāśupata astram.* Extant texts of the Epic do not mention any Yakṣa, but some version of the story must have known him, and Trikoṭṭi-Boyu regarded him as an ancestor.[2]

3. YAKṢAS AS TUTELARY DEITIES (PATRON SAINTS) AND GUARDIAN ANGELS

In many cases Yakṣas have been human beings attached to the service of a community or individual, and, reborn as a spirit or geni, continue to watch over those whom they had formerly served. Thus, from a Tibetan source[3] we get the following story connected with the times of king Bimbisāra, a contemporary of the Buddha:

At that time one of the gate-keepers of Vaisali had died and had been born again among the demons. He gave the inhabitants of Vaisali the following instructions: "As I have been born again among the demons, confer on me the position of a Yakṣa and hang a bell round my neck. Whenever foe to the inhabi-

[1] The doctrine of reincarnation is not Vedic, and in view of the suggestions of indigenous origin that have been plausibly made, it is of interest to note how constantly the idea of rebirth is connected with the Yakṣa mythology, in which a Yakṣa may have been, or may again become a human being. Hodson, T. C., *The Primitive Culture of India,* p. 7, and Lecture V, *passim,* shows that a belief in reincarnation is widely spread amongst primitive tribes in India (Khonds, Bhuiyas, Garos, etc.). The Lushais (p. 105) desire to escape from the mortal coil of reincarnation. Santals say that "good men enter into fruit-trees" (Sir W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*). According to a Buddhist tradition Kuvera himself was once a very charitable Brahman (S. B. B., IV, p. 193, note 4).

[2] Sastri, H. K., *The sculptured pillar on the Indrakila hill at Bezwada,* Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. India, 1915-16.

[3] Schiefner, A., *Tibetan tales from the Kah-gyur* (Ralston, p. 81).

tants of Vaisali appears, I will make the bell sound until he is arrested or has taken his departure."[1] So they caused a Yakṣa statue to be prepared and hung a bell round its neck. Then they set it up in the gatehouse, provided with oblations and garlands along with dance and song and to the sound of musical instruments.

The same Tibetan sources show that the Śākyas honored a Yakṣa by name Śākyavardhana ("He who prospers the Śākyas") as a tutelary deity. This tradition is recorded in the Tibetan Dulva;[2] we need not believe in the miracle, but there is every possibility that there was a tutelary Yakṣa of the Śākya clan, and that the Śākyas presented their children in the temple. Moreover, the Presentation is four times illustrated at Amarāvatī (pl. 20, also Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship,* pls. LXIX, XCI, 4, and Burgess, *Buddhist stupas . . . .*, frontispiece, detail left of center, and pl. XXXII, 2). According to the text,

> It was the habit of the Śākyas to make all new-born children bow down at the feet of a statue of the Yakṣa Sākyavardhana (*Śākya-sphel* or *spel*); so the king took the young child (the Bodhisattva, Siddhārtha) to the temple, but the Yakṣa bowed down at his feet . . . . and when the king saw the Yakṣa bow down at the child's feet he exclaimed, "He is the god of gods," and the child was therefore called Devatideva.

The same tradition is found in the Chinese *Abhiniṣkramaṇa Sūtra* (the late sixth century Chinese version by Jñānakuṭi),[3] but the temple is called a Deva temple, and the Deva's name is Tsang Chang, for which the equivalent Dīrghāvardana is suggested. The story is much more elaborated in the *Lalita Vistara,* Ch. VIII, where the temple is full of statues of gods (Śiva, Sūrya), and all bow down to the child; this is obviously a later development.

In the Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra,* Ch. III, 14-18, it is stated as a general rule that Yakṣas are reborn as men when their stock of merit (acquired, of course, in a previous life on earth) is exhausted.

Not only human beings, but even animals may be reborn as tutelary Yakṣas. The following story of the Jaina saint Jīvaka is related in the Tamil classic, the *Jīvaka-cintāmani:*[4] Jīvaka rescues a drowning dog,

[1] As regards the bell; it should be observed that the voice of Devas and Yakṣas is often said to be like the sound of a golden bell (*e.g., Saṁyutta Nikāya,* Yakkha Suttas, § 8 (Commentary), and Sakka Suttas, II, § 10 (Commentary). For Yakṣas with bells see plate 12, figure 2; plate 13, figure 3; and plate 18. For a very similar story from the *Divyāvadāna* see Appendix.

[2] Rockhill, W. W., *Life of the Buddha from Tibetan works in the Bkah-Hgyur and Bstan-Hgyur,* p. 17; Csoma de Köros, *Analysis of the Kah-Gyur,* Asiatic Researches, XX, p. 289. Cf. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang,* II, 13, 14, with some other references, including *Divyāvadāna.*

[3] Beal, S., *Romantic history of Buddha,* p. 52.

[4] Vinson, J., *Légendes bouddhistes et djainas,* Paris, 1900, t. 2, p. 43.

or, to be more exact, recites to it the *mantra* of the Five Namaskāras, whereby it is reborn as a deity, a chief of the Yakṣas; as such it is called Sutañjana and lives in Candrodaya ("Moonrise") on the white Mt. Saṅga. Later, Jīvaka is imprisoned by his enemies; he calls to mind Sutañjana, who immediately experiences a trembling which brings Jīvaka to his mind (cf. the heating or quaking of Indra's throne when good men are in distress), and he hastens to the rescue. He produces a great storm, and under cover of it carries off Jīvaka and takes him to his heavenly palace. Later, he bestows on Jīvaka three great spells (*mantras*) which bestow marvellous beauty, destroy poison, and give the power of shape-shifting, and finally takes him back to earth. There Jīvaka erects and endows a temple and sets up a statue in it.

A detailed story of Yakkhas is given in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, chapters IX, X. It may be summarized as follows:

Prince Gāmaṇi had two attendants, Citta and Kāḷavela, respectively a herdsman and a slave. He fell in love with the Princess Cittā; but it had been prophesied that the latter's son would slay the Prince's uncles, who were then in power. However, the Princess became enceinte, and the marriage was permitted; but it was decided that if a son should be born, he should be put to death, and meanwhile Citta and Kāḷavela were executed for their part in the affair. "They were reborn as Yakkhas, and both kept guard over the child in the mother's womb." The child, a son, was duly born, and was called Paṇḍukābhaya; he was exchanged with the new-born daughter of another woman, and thus brought up in safety away from the court (cf. the story of the infant Kṛṣṇa). When the young prince was once in sudden danger, the two Yakkhas appeared to save him.

Later on, Paṇḍukābhaya captured a Yakkhiṇī mare, described as *vaḷava-rūpā* or *vaḷavā-mukha*, "mare-shaped" or "mare-faced" (cf. Assamukhī, discussed below); her name was Cetiyā, and she used to wander about the Dhūmarakkha mountain in the form of a mare, with a white body and red feet. Paṇḍukābhaya bored her nostrils and secured her with a rope; she became his adviser, and he rode her in battle. When at last established on the throne (in Anurādhapura), Paṇḍukābhaya "settled the Yakkha Kāḷavela on the east side of the city, the Yakkha Cittarāja at the lower end of the Abhaya tank. The slave-woman who had helped him in time past (as foster-mother) and was (now) reborn as (or of) a Yakkhiṇī, the thankful (king) settled at the south gate of the city. Within the royal precincts he housed the Yakkhiṇī having the face of a mare. Year by year he had sacrificial offerings made to them and to other (Yakkhas); but on festival days he sat with Cittarāja beside him on a seat of equal height, and having gods and men to dance before him, the king took his pleasure in joyous and merry wise. . . . . With Cittarāja and Kāḷavela who were visible,[1] the prince enjoyed his good fortune, he that had those that had become Yakkhas for friends."[2]

[1] *I. e.*, were represented by statues.

[2] Alternatively, "had Yakkhas and Bhūtas for friends."

4. SHRINES AND TEMPLES (*CAITYA, AYATANA*)

The haunt or abode (*bhavanam*) of a Yakṣa, often referred to as a *caitya* (Pali, *cetiya,* Prakrit, *cēiya*) or *āyatana* (Prakrit, *āyayaṇa*) may be outside a city, in a grove, on a mountain or at a *ghāṭ* (shrines of Puṇṇabhadda and Moggara-pāṇī; those of the Indra's Peak Yakkha, and the Yakkha Suciloma near Rājagaha mentioned in the *Saṁyutta Nikāya,* Yakkha Suttas (*Kindred Sayings,* 1, p. 264); and the Yakṣa shrine and image of *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra,* ch. XII, S. B. E., XLV, p. 50, note), or by a tank (the Yakkha Cittarāja, *Mahāvaṁsa,* ch. X); or at the gates of a city (slave woman reborn as a Yakkhinī, *Mahāvaṁsa,* chapter X, and the tutelary Yakṣa of Vaiśālī mentioned above); or within a city (shrine of Māṇibhadra, *Kathāsaritsāgara,* ch. XIII) or even within the palace precincts (shrine of the Yakkhiṇī Cetiyā, *Mahāvaṁsa,* ch. X). These shrines are constantly spoken of as ancient, magnificent, famous, or world-renowned.

The essential element of a Yakṣa holystead is a stone table or altar (*veyaḍḍi, mañco*) placed beneath the tree sacred to the Yakṣa. The *bhavanam* of the Yakkha Suciloma at Gayā is particularly described as a stone couch (better rendered as dais or altar) by or on which the Buddha rested; the words used are *taṅkita mañco,* explained in the commentary to mean a stone slab resting on four other stones (*Saṁyutta Nikāya,* Yakkha Suttas, ch. X, *Kindred Sayings,* 1, p. 264). At the Puṇṇabhadda cēiya described below there were not only altars (and probably an image) in an elaborate temple, but also a decorated altar beneath an aśoka-tree in the grove.

It was just such an altar beneath a sacred tree that served as the Bodhisattva's seat on the night of the Great Enlightenment; Sujātā's maidservant, indeed, mistakes the Bodhisattva for the tree-spirit himself (*Nidānakathā*). It is very evident that the sacred tree and altar represent a combination taken over by Buddhism from older cults, and in the case of the Bodhi-tree we see the transference actually in process.

How often the *bhavanas* of the Yakṣas mentioned in Buddhist and Jaina literature should be regarded as constructed temples it is hard to say. Some, like the Puṇṇabhadda cēiya, were certainly buildings, independent of the altar beneath a sacred tree. In references to constructed temples supposed to have existed in the latter centuries preceding the Christian era there is nothing at all improbable; some of the *āyatanas* and *caityas* of the Epics are certainly buildings, and sometimes contain statues. So, too, in Manu, 4, 39. The Caṇḍāla temple of *Mahābhārata,* 12, 121 (post-epical) has images and bells,

and may have been a Yakṣa shrine, or the shrine of a goddess. Structural temple architecture was already far advanced in and before the Kuṣāna period.[1] The existence of images (and Yakṣa images are the oldest known images in India) in every case implies the existence of temples and a cult.

On the other hand it is quite certain that the word *caitya* sometimes means no more than a sacred tree, or a tree with an altar; such are designated *caitya-vṛkṣas* in the Epics, and it is stated in the *Mahābhārata,* Southern Recension, 12, 69, 41 ff., that such holy trees should not be injured inasmuch as they are the resorts of Devas, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, etc. Even when as so often happens in Buddhist literature, the Buddha is represented as halting or resting at the *bhavanam* of some Yakkha, it does not follow that a building is meant; the *bhavanam* may have been only a tree sacred to a Yakṣa, and such sacred trees are natural resting and meeting places in any village, as at the present day. But in *Saṁyutta Nikāya,* Yakkha Suttas, IV, it is expressly stated that the *bhavanam* of the Yakkha Maṇibhadda was called the Maṇimāla caitya (the Jaina *Sūrya-prajñapti* says that the Maṇibhadda cēiya lay to the northeast of the city of Mithilā). As the shrines of Maṇibhadda and Puṇṇabhadda seem to have been the most famous of all Yakkha shrines, it is most likely that the former as well as the latter was a real temple, and indeed it is described as a temple with doors and an inner chamber in *Kathāsaritsāgara,* chapter XIII. We know, too, that a statue of Maṇibhadda was set up at Pawāyā,[2] and this must have been housed in some kind of structure. Śākyavardhana's shrine, too, in the Tibetan text and in one of the Amarāvatī reliefs, is a temple: so also the *kṛtālaya* of Vajrapāṇi in the Mahāmāyūrī list.

On the whole, then, we may be sure that in many cases Yakṣa shrines, however designated, were structural buildings. What were they like? The passages cited in the present essay tell us of buildings with doors, and arches (*toraṇe,* which may refer either to gateways like the Buddhist *toraṇas,* or, as the text has, "on its doorways," probably to stone or wooden pediments, with which we are familiar from the Maurya period onwards);[3] and of images and altars within

[1] Cf. HIIA, figs. 41, 43, 45, 62, 69, 70, 142: M. F. A., Bulletin, Nos. 144, 150: Parmentier, *L'Art khmèr primitif,* p. 349, and *Origine commune des architectures dans l'Inde et en Extrême-Orient,* in Études Asiatiques.

[2] See Garde, M. B., in Arch. Surv. India, Ann. Rep. 1914-15, Pt. I, p. 21 and *The site of Padmāvatī, ib.* 1915-16, p. 105 and Pl. LVII. See also p. 28.

[3] Cf. Smith, V. A., *Jaina stupa of Mathurā,* pls. XIX, XX; Coomaraswamy, in M. F. A. Bulletin, No. 150 (August, 1927).

the buildings. Indian styles of architecture, of course, are not sectarian; the style is that of the period. So that to discuss this question fully would involve a discussion of all structural temple architecture from the Maurya to the Kuṣāna period inclusive; which would not be altogether impossible, on the basis of literary references, and representations in reliefs. This would take up too much of the space at present available. But it may be observed that the Gujarātī commentators gloss the word *jakkhāyayaṇa* by *āyat thānak dehro,* a little domed temple.[1] This description would very aptly characterize the little domed pavilions which are represented on Audumbara coins from Kāṅgṛā about the beginning of the Christian era, and on somewhat similar coins from Ceylon,[2] while a more elaborate structure of the same type is seen in the Sudhammā Deva-sabhā in the well-known Bharhut relief (early second century B. C.).[3] Another example of a "little domed temple" is the fire temple of the Sāñcī relief, east *toraṇa,* left pillar, inner face, second panel. Cf. also HIIA, figure 145.

One of the detailed descriptions of a Yakṣa holystead may be quoted in full: this is the famous shrine of the Yakṣa Pūrṇabhadra (Puṇṇabhadda) of which a long account is given in the *Aupapātika Sūtra.*[4]

> Near Campā there was a sanctuary (*cēiya*) named Puṇṇabhadde. It was of ancient origin, told of by men of former days, old, renowned, rich, and well known. It had umbrellas, banners, and bells; it had flags, and flags upon flags to adorn it, and was provided with brushes.[5]

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[1] Barnett, *Antagaḍa Dasāo,* p. 13, n. 5.

[2] Audumbara coins, Smith, V. A., in J. A. S. B., LXVI, pt. I, 1897; Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India,* pl. IV, 2; HIIA, figs. 116, 117. Ceylon coins, Pieris, P. E., *Nāgadīpa. . . . .,* J. R. A. S., Ceylon Br., XXVII, No. 72, 1919.

[3] Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut,* pl. XVI; or HIIA, fig. 43.

[4] Leumann, E., *Das Aupapātika Sūtra, erstes Upanga der Jaina,* Abh. Kunde des Morgenlandes, VIII, 2, 1883. The same account is implied in the *Antagaḍa Dasāo,* the quotation above being taken from Barnett's rendering inserted in his translation of the latter text.

The Jaina canonical works, like the Buddhist, may be regarded as good evidence for the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era.

It may be remarked that Jaina cēiyas are distinguished (from those of Yakkhas) as *ārhat cēiya.*

[5] *Loma-haṭṭha:* it seems to me that the rendering "brushes" may be due to the translator's preoccupation with Jaina ideas.

Pali *loma-haṭṭha* means "with hair erect" (horripilation) in fear, astonishment, or joy. May not the suggestion be here simply "marvellous to behold," rather than the designation of an object? or could yak-tail fly-whisks (*court*), more appropriate in a Yakṣa shrine, have been meant?

It had daises (*veyaḍḍi*)[1] built in it, and was reverentially adorned with a coating of dry cow-dung, and bore figures of the five-fingered hand painted in *gośirṣa* sandal, fresh red sandal, and Dardara Sandal. There was in it great store of ritual pitchers. On (? beside, or above) its doorways were ritual jars (*vandaṛaghaḍe*) and well-fashioned arches (*tōraṇē*). Broad rounded long-drooping masses of bunches of fresh sweet-smelling blossoms of the five colours scattered therein. It smelt pleasantly with the shimmering reek of *kālāguru*, fine *kundurukka*, and *turukka* (incenses),[2] and was odorous with sweet-smelling fine scents, a very incense-wafer. It was haunted by actors, dancers, rope-walkers, wrestlers, boxers, jesters, jumpers, reciters, ballad-singers, story-tellers, pole dancers, picture-showmen (*maṅkhē*),[3] pipers, lute-players, and minstrels. . . . . This sanctuary was encompassed round about by a great wood. . . . . In this wood was a broad mid-space. Therein, it is related, was a great and fine Aśoka-tree. It had its roots pure with *kuśa* and *vikuśa* grass. . . . . Underneath this fine Aśoka-tree, somewhat close to its trunk, was, it is related, a large dais of (? resting upon) earthen blocks (*puḍhavīsilā paṭṭac*). It (the dais)

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[1] *Veyaḍḍi:* an earthen or stone slab altar for the reception of offerings is the essential part of a shrine. Sometimes a symbol is placed on it. Later, when images come into general use, it becomes the *āsana* (seat or throne) or *pīṭha* (pedestal) of the figure. Altars are generally plain and smooth; but beautifully ornamented examples are known, particularly one, Jaina, from the Kaṅkālī Tīlā, Mathurā (Smith, *Jaina stupa of Mathura*, pl. XXII), and the outer *vajrāsana*, Buddhist, at Bodhgayā (Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, pl. XIII), both of pre-Kuṣāna date.

In the *Uvāsagadasāo*, 164 (Hoernle, p. 107) the altar is called a masonry platform (*puḍhavī-silā-paṭṭac* = Sanskrit *pṛthvī-śilā-paṭṭaka* or *paṭṭaya*, cf. the *silā paṭṭaaṁ* of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, III, 79); Hoernle discusses the terms at some length. *Puḍhavī-silā* might mean laterite. The words *taṅkite-mañco* are used in the Pali *Yakkha Suttas*, and rendered stone couch, but "altar" would be better.

[2] The five fingered hand design is mentioned also elsewhere; *e. g.*, *Mahāvaṁsa*, XXXII, 4 (*pañcāṅgulikā pantikā*). Perhaps a five-foliate palmette would have been thus designated.

[3] Picture-showmen: probably those who exhibited scrolls (*yamapaṭa*) illustrating the rewards of good and bad actions, to be realized in a future life. In the Jaina *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, XV, 1, there is mentioned the heresiarch Gosāle Maṅkhaliputte, whose second name refers to his father's trade as a *maṅkha* (cf. Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo*, pp. 108, 121, notes 253, 273 and Appendix, p. 1). Patañjali, *Mahābhāṣya*, III, 2, III, refers to the exhibition of paintings of the Kṛṣṇa Līlā, and to the use of the historical present in verbal explanation of them; see Lüders, Sitz. k. Ak. Wiss., Berlin, 1916, pp. 698 ff.; also Keith, A. B., *The Sanskrit drama* (but Keith's rejection of the spoken explanation is probably mistaken). In Viśākhadatta's *Mudrarākṣasa*, Act. 1, Cāṇakya's spy adopts the disguise of an exhibitor of *yamapaṭa* (Prakrit, *jamapaḍaaṁ*). Cf. the modern Javanese Wayang Bebér (Groeneveldt, W. P., *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, compiled from Chinese sources*, Batavia, 1876; Krom, N. J., in Ars Asiatica, VIII, pl. LIX, and the similar Siamese exhibitions cited by Kramrisch, *Viṣṇudharmottaram*, Calcutta, 1924, p. 5, from the Siamese *Sāratha Pakāsini*, pt. II, p. 398).

was of goodly proportions as to breadth, length, and height; and it was black . . . . smooth and massive, eight-cornered, like the face of a mirror, very delightful, and variously figured with wolves, bulls, horses, men, dolphins, birds, snakes, elves, *ruru*-deer, *sarabha*-deer, yak-oxen, elephants, forest creepers, and *padmaka* creepers. . . . . It was shaped like a throne, and was comforting . . . . comely.

In those days, at that time, there arrived the reverent elder Subhamme. . . . . amidst a company of five hundred friars he travelled on and on, journeying in pleasantness, he came to the city of Campā and the sanctuary Puṇṇabhadde he took a lodging such as was meet, and abode there. People came out from Campā to hear his preaching.

The *Antagaḍa Dasāo,* chapter 6, in connection with the garland-maker Ajjuṇae provides interesting details regarding the cult and shrine of the Jakkha Moggara-pāṇi. The following abstract includes all that is pertinent to our study:[1]

Outside the city of Rāyagihe (Rājagṛha) Ajjuṇae possessed a beautiful flower-garden. Some way from this garden there was a shrine (*jakkhāyayaṇa*) sacred to the Jakkha Moggara-pāṇi; this shrine "had belonged to Ajjunae's grandfather, great-grandfather, and great-great-grandfather, and had passed through a line of many men of his race" (by whom it had been supported in past generations). "In it there stood a figure of the Jakkha Moggara-pāṇi holding a great iron mace a thousand *palas* in weight." Every morning, before plying his trade, Ajjuṇae would go to the garden with baskets and cloths to gather flowers; then "with the chiefest and best flowers he would approach the *jakkhāyayaṇa* of the Jakkha Moggara-pāṇi, fall upon his knees, and do reverence." On a certain festival day he took with him his wife Bandhumaī.

Meanwhile a certain gang of roughnecks from Rāyagihe had made their way to the shrine to take their pleasure there; seeing Ajjuṇae and his wife, they plan to bind him and take possession of her. To this end they hid themselves behind the doors; when Ajjuṇae had made his offerings, they seized him as arranged, and worked their will on his wife. Ajjuṇae reflected, "Verily I have been from childhood a worshipper of my lord the Jakkha Moggara-pāṇi; now if the Jakkha Moggara-pāṇi were present here, could he behold me falling into such ill-fortune? Then the Jakkha Moggara-pāṇi is not present here: 'tis plain this is but a log." Moggara-pāṇi, however, became aware of Ajjuṇae's thoughts, and took possession of his body; having done so he seized the iron mace, and smote down the six villains and the woman.

Ajjuṇae, still possessed by the Jakkha, now went about killing six men and a woman everyday. The matter was brought to the king's notice. He proclaimed that people should stay at home, and not go out of doors about their usual tasks. A Jaina ascetic then arrived. Despite the king's orders and the danger, the pious merchant Sudaṁsaṇe cannot be dissuaded from going out to pay his respects to the ascetic. The Jakkha meets and threatens him; but Sudaṁsaṇe, without fear, immediately makes full profession of the monastic vows, and thus, as it were, armed in the Lord, the Jakkha cannot approach him, but comes to a halt, staring

[1] Translation by Barnett, 1907, p. 86. I have restored the original *jakkha* and *jakkhāyayaṇa* in place of Barnett's "fairy" and "fairy-shrine."

fixedly at him; then he abandons the body of Ajjuṇae, and returns to his own place with the mace. Ajjuṇae falls to the ground, but on recovering himself, accompanies Sudaṁsaṇe and likewise takes the vows.

Here we find both the cult, patron-saint, and possession features well displayed; it is also clear that the Jakkha shrine is a building with doors, and it is of interest to note that the statue is of wood, and that it is provided with a club (cf. pl. 12, fig. 3). It is hardly necessary to point out that the statue is not the Jakkha; the latter appears suddenly, and carries off the club with which the statue is provided. The name Moggara-pāṇi signifies, of course, "Club-bearer." The antiquity of the shrine and simple nature of the cult remain, and so, too, the fact that the worshipper regards the Jakkha as his natural protector; but the Jakkha is represented as a fierce creature, without the sense to know when to stop—rather like the giants of European fairy-tales. But he is easily subdued by the new-made Jaina monk; and from the Jaina point of view the story is a highly edifying one.

A characteristic and almost essential feature of Hindu and Buddhist shrines is an enclosing wall or railing (*prākāra, vedikā,* etc.). The following story related in the *Dhammapada Atthakathā* (Burlingame, E. W., *Buddhist legends,* H. O. S., Vol. 28, p. 146) refers to the building of such an enclosure in the case of a tree worshipped with desire for children:

> At Sāvatthī, we are told, lived a householder named Great-Wealth Mahā-Suvaṇṇa. He was rich, possessed of great wealth, possessed of ample means of enjoyment, but at the same time he was childless. One day, as he was on his way home from bathing at a ghāṭ, he saw by the roadside a large forest tree with spreading branches. Thought he, "This tree must be tenanted by a powerful tree-spirit." So he caused the ground under the tree to be cleared, the tree itself to be inclosed with a wall (*pākāra*), and sand to be spread within the inclosure. And having decked the tree with flags and banners, he made the following vow: "Should I obtain a son or a daughter, I will pay you great honor." Having so done, he went on his way.

Another story, in the *Kah-gyur* (Schiefner, *Tibetan tales,* IX) relates how

> a childless Brahman had recourse to the deity of a great nyagrodha-tree (banyan), near the city called thence Nyagrodhika. He caused the ground around it to be sprinkled, cleansed, and adorned. He then filled the space with perfumes, flowers, and incense, and set up flags and standards. Then, after having entertained eight hundred Brahmans and bestowed upon them material for robes, he prayed to the tree-haunting deity, "Be pleased to bestow on me a son." In case the request were granted, he would continue to offer the like honors for a year, but if not, he would cut down the tree and burn it. The tree deity, who was in favor with the Four Great Kings, betook himself to the Mahārāja Rāṣṭrapāla, Virūḍhaka, Virūpākṣa, and Vaiśravaṇa; and the matter was ultimately arranged by the aid of Śakra and Mahābrahmā.

Another and later instance may be cited in the *Mālavikāgnimitra,* V. 1, where a *bhitti-bandho,* or *bhittivedikābandha* is built round an aśoka-tree.

Elaborate structures built round the Bodhi tree are represented in numerous reliefs from Bharhut, Sāñcī, Mathurā, and Amarāvatī, and there is no reason to suppose that structures of this kind were made for the first time after the Yakkha *bhavanam* (for such it was) at Uruvelā became the Bodhi tree of Gautama.

Yakṣa caityas, etc., are constantly described as places of resort, and suitable halting or resting places for travellers; Buddhist and Jaina saints and monks are frequently introduced as resting or residing at the haunt of such and such a Yakṣa, or in such and such a Yakkha cēiya (Puṇṇabhadda cēiya, *ut supra;* the Buddha, in many of the Yakkha Suttas of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*). Amongst other caityas or groves mentioned in Buddhist literature, the following may be cited as having been in all probability sacred to the cult of a local divinity: (1) the Cāpāla caitya given to the Buddha by the Vajjians (Licchavis) of Vaisālī (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang,* II, 78) (2) the Supatiṭṭha cetiya in the Yaṭṭhivana or Staffwood, where Buddha stayed on his first visit; it is stated, indeed, that this was the ancient place of abode of Supatiṭṭha, the god of a banyan tree (Watters, *ibid.,* II, 147), (3) the grove of sāl-trees belonging to the Mallas, where the Parinibbāṇa took place. Here the couch (*uttarasīsakaṁ*) on which the Buddha lay must have been a dais or altar originally intended for the reception of offerings. In some reliefs, tree spirits are seen in each of the two trees. (4) The Vajjian (Vaiśāli, Licchavi) caityas referred to by the Buddha (*Mahāparinibbāṇa Suttanta,* and *Aṅguttara Nikāya,* VII, 19) when he repeats the conditions of future welfare for the Vajjians, exhorting them not to allow the "proper offerings and rites as formerly given and performed at the Vajjian cetiyas to fall into desuetude." Buddhaghoṣa (*Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*) regards these as having been Yakkha cetiya, and it can hardly be doubted that this was so in most or all cases. With reference to the Sāradanda cetiya at Vaiśālī, where the Buddha was staying on the occasion of stating the conditions of Vajjian welfare, he says that "this was a *vihāra* erected on the site of a former shrine of the Yakkha Sāradanda."

In the same way Gujarātī commentators of Jaina texts interpret, no doubt correctly, the cēiyas referred to, as Jakkha shrines. But the Dūipalāsa cēiya N. E. of the Vāniyagāma suburb of Vaiśālī may be separately mentioned. Here, in the *Uvāsaga Dasāo,*[1] § 2f., we find

[1] Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo,* II, p. 2.

Mahāvīra[1] in residence. The same cēiya is called a park (*ujjāṇa*) in *Vipāka Sūtra,* lect. 1, § 2, and elsewhere a cēiya of the Nāla clan. As Mahāvīra was a son of the chief of this Kṣattriya clan, Hoernle assumes that the cēiya must have been sacred to the previous Jina Pārśvanātha. But even if we regard this Jina as historical, there could have existed no Jaina cult (*pūjā*) in the time of Mahāvīra, and it is much more likely that this was a Jakkha shrine or park. When, further, the son of a pious householder of Vāniyagāma takes the vows of a lay adherent, and renounces willing offerings to "the Devas, or objects of reverence to a heterodox community," it is probable that Jakkha cēiyas are included. But here the commentory cites cēiya as "idol," and mentions Vīrabhadra and Mahākāla.

5. WORSHIP (*PŪJĀ*) IN YAKṢA SHRINES

Offerings to Yakṣas, with a long list of other beings, are referred to in several Gṛhya Sūtras as being made at the close of Vedic studies; the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra,* I, 11, 6, mentions Māṇibhadra. The *Aśvalayana Gṛhya Sūtra,* I, 12, describes what is called a caitya-offering (*vandana*) by householders. Hillebrandt,[2] followed by Keith, assumes that caityas erected as funeral monuments to teachers and prophets are intended, but it is much more likely that the reference is in the main to Yakṣa caityas.

The *Mahābhārata* mentions that the flowers offered to Yakṣas, Gandharvas, and Nāgas make glad the heart, hence they are called *sumanasas,* eumenides; such flowers being other than the sharp-scented, thorny and red flowers used in magical rites (Hopkins, *Epic Mythology,* p. 68). The incense made from deodar and *Vatica*

[1] As remarked by Hoernle the terms *cēiya* and *ujjāṇa, vana-saṇḍa, vana-khaṇḍa* = grove or park, are interchangeable.

[2] *Ritual-Literature,* Grundriss, III, 2, p. 86. It is quite possible that Hillebrandt (like the author of the P. T. S. Pali Dictionary) ignores here the common meanings of caitya, other than funeral mound. I cannot help suspecting too that when Keith (*Religion and Philosophy of the Veda,* p. 73) remarks that "Buddhist literature knows . . . . Yakṣas who live in relic mounds," a pre-occupation with the idea of funeral mounds (which are but one kind of caitya) underlies the statement, which seems to be founded only on a misinterpretation of the collocation Yakkha-cetiya.

It is true that the word *caitya* is said to be derived from a root *ci* meaning to build or heap up; but as used in the Epics and early Buddhist and Jaina literature, it means any holystead, altar, shrine, grove, temple, etc. May it not be derived from *cit,* with the sense therefore of an object to be meditated upon or attended to?

The Epic uses the word *eḍūka* when Bauddha cetiyas (stupās) are specifically meant; and in Jaina works, Jaina cēiyas are distinguished as *Arhat cēiya.*

robusta is liked by all deities; but *sallakīya* incense is disliked by the gods and suitable only for the Daityas. Milk and flowers should be offered to the gods, who take only the perfume of the latter. The appearance of flowers is acceptable to Rākṣasas, but the Nāgas use them as food. On the other hand the food of Yakṣas and Rākṣasas is meat and spirituous liquor (Hopkins, *ibid.*, pp. 68, 69). Here again, as is generally the case, the Yakṣas are given a spiritual rank intermediate between that of the gods (Devas) and the lower spirits.

Manu (XI, 96) says that meat and intoxicating drinks are the food of Yakṣas, Rākṣasas and Piśācas. In the Meghadūta, II, 3, Yakṣas are described as drinking wine produced from *kalpa*-trees, in the company of fair damsels: cf. the Bacchanalian Yakṣa groups of Mathurā (pl. 14, fig. 1) and those of the ceiling of Cave I at Ajaṇṭā.

The prospector, before digging for treasure in Northern India, makes offerings of meat, sesamum seeds, and flowers, to Kuvera, Māṇibhadra, etc. (*Mahābhārata*, 14, 65, 11).

In connection with a Yakṣiṇī shrine at Rājagṛha it is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (3, 84, 105) that there was a daily service.

A passage omitted from the description of the Puṇṇabhadde cēiya cited above informs us that this sanctuary

> was meet for the prayers and supplications of many prayerful folk; meet for worship, celebration, veneration, offering, largesse, and respect; meet to be waited upon with courtesy as a blessed and auspicious sanctuary of the gods, divine, truth-telling, truth-counselling (or, surely satisfying the desires of its worshippers). Miracles were manifested therein, and it received shares in thousands of sacrifices. Many people came to worship the sanctuary Puṇṇabhadde.

In the *Antagaḍa Dasāo*, loc. cit., pp. 86 ff., the garland-maker Ajjuṇae every day, before practising his trade, repairs to the temple (*jakkhāyayaṇē*) of the Yakkha Moggara-pāṇi, with flower-offerings of great worth, falls upon his knees, and does reverence.

Hariṇegameṣī (see note on p. 12) is represented in the *Antagaḍa Dasāo* (loc. cit., p. 67) as receiving *pūjā:*

> Sulasā was from childhood a worshipper of the god Hariṇegameṣī. She caused to be made an image of H., and every morning she bathed . . . . performed the customary lustratory rites, and with a still moist robe made flower-offerings of great worth, fell upon her knees, did reverence . . . . By the lady Sulasā's devotion, veneration, and obedience the god H. was won over. So in compassion for the lady Sulasā the god H., made both her and thee to become pregnant at the same time.[1]

[1] Here "thee" refers to Queen Devai, whose living children are given to Sulasā. Later, when Queen Devai longs for children of her own, her husband Kaṇhe (Kṛṣṇa) Vāsudeva worships Hariṇegameṣī; the latter's throne quakes, he looks down, and sees Vāsudeva whose mind is fixed on him. He appears to Vāsudeva, "clad in robes of the five colours bearing bells," and promises that Devai shall bear a child.

In the beautiful Jaina Tamil classic, the *Jīvaka-cintāmaṇī* (Vinson, J., *Légendes bouddhistes et Djainas,* Paris, 1900, t. 2, p. 43) the grateful Jīvaka erects a temple for the Yakkha Sutañjana, sets up a statue, and dedicates a town (the rents whereof would support the service of the temple); then he has prepared a drama relating to the history of the Yakṣa, and most likely we should understand that this drama was presented in the temple on special occasions for the pleasure of the deity.

The tutelary Yakṣa at Vaisāli, as we have seen, was worshipped with oblations, dance and song, and the sound of musical instruments.

Later books appear to show that Yakṣa worship and some particular Yakṣas retained their prestige throughout the medieval period. In these texts we find a cult of the same general character, and can glean some further details. In the *Kathāsaritsāgara,* part I, chapter XIII, we find:

"In our country, within the city, there is the shrine of a powerful Yakṣa named Maṇibhadra, established by our ancestors. The people there come and make petitions at this shrine, offering various gifts, in order to obtain various blessings." Offerings (of food) are referred to, which it was the duty of the officiating priest to receive and eat. The anecdote turns upon the interesting fact that the Yakṣa temple was regularly used as a temporary jail for adulterers.

Numerous other and incidental references to Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs will be found in the same work, *passim* (*e. g.,* in ch. XXXIV, story of the Yakṣa Virūpākṣa).

The equally late Pariśiṣṭaparvan of Hemacandra (thirteenth century) Canto 3, has a story of two old women, Buddhi and Siddhi: "Buddhi had for a long time continued to sacrifice to a Yakṣa, Bhola (or Bholaka), when the god, pleased with her devotion, promised her whatever she should ask," etc. A little further on we find a human being, Lalitāṅga, "disguised as a statue of a Yakṣa."[1] The same text, Canto 2, eighth story, describes an ordeal undergone by a woman justly accused of adultery. "Now there was a statue of the Yakṣa Śobhana of such sanctity that no guilty person could pass through between its legs." The lady (like Guinevere in a similar predicament) frames an oath which is literally true but essentially false. "While the puzzled Yakṣa was still at a loss to know how to act," she passed through his legs.

Devendra, in the *Uttarādhyayana ṭīkā* (Jacobi, p. 39, Meyer, *Hindu tales,* p. 140), Story of Domuha, tells of a lady named Guṇamālā

[1] Jacobi, H., *Sthavirāvali Charitra,* Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1891, pp. 33, 37.

who " was unhappy because she had no daughter. And she vowed an oblation (*uvāiyaṁ*) to the Yakṣa called Mayaṇa . . . . a daughter was born of her. . . . . She gave the oblation to the Yakṣa."

In the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi,* another Jaina story book, about 1419 A. D., we find a Yakṣa by name Kapardin invoked by a Jaina layman, acting on the advice of his Guru.[1] The Yakṣa bestows wealth on his supplicant, and then relates the circumstances to his sons, " in order to manifest in their hearts the power of religion "; the Yakṣa himself is a worshipper of the Jina. It is clear that Jainism and Yakṣa worship could be as closely interrelated as Buddhism and Hinduism have often been.

Rites for attracting Yakṣīs are mentioned in the *Kathāsaritsāgara,* chapter XLIX. These rites are performed in cemeteries, and are evidently Tāntrik. The beautiful Yakṣīs Vidyunmālā, Candralekhā, and Sulocanā are said to be the best among them. A certain Ādityasarman, living in Ujjayinī, obtains the last as his wife, and lives with her in Āḷaka; their son Guṇasarman is sent back to the human world, and becomes a great king.

6. YAKṢA WORSHIP A BHAKTI CULT

The reader cannot fail to have observed that the facts of Yakṣa worship summarized above are almost identical with those characteristic of other and contemporary *Bhakti* (devotional) cults. It is, in fact, a great error to assume that the term *Bhagavat* (" worshipful ") applies only to Viṣṇu, and *Bhaktā* (" devout worshipper ") only to worshippers of Viṣṇu.[2] The rise, or, as it would be better to say, the coming into prominence of *Bhakti* cults in the centuries immediately preceding the beginning of the Christian era was not an isolated sectarian development, but a general tendency. All forms of belief were involved, Buddhism no less than others.[3]

Not only is Vāsudeva (Viṣṇu) styled Bhagavat, but also the Four Great Kings, the Mahārājas, Regents of the Quarters, amongst whom

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[1] *Prabandhacintāmaṇi,* Trans. by C. H. Tawney, London, 1901, p. 203.

[2] As might be gathered from Bhandarkar, R. G., *Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism, and minor religious systems* (Grundriss indo-arische Ph. und A.).

[3] For the *Bhakti* character of even early Buddhism, see De la Vallée-Poussin, loc. cit. pp. 334 ff. The *Majjhima Nikāya,* 1, 142, has " He who has faith (*śrāddha*) in Me and love (*prema*) for Me will attain to heaven." So too Śaivism, " Even after committing all crimes, men by mental worship of Śiva are freed from sin " (*Mahābhārata,* 13, 18, 65). Both assurances are altogether in the spirit of the *Bhagavad Gītā.*

is Kubera, Regent of the North, himself a Yakṣa[1] (and, as Vaiśravaṇa, frequently styled Bhagavat in the *Mahābhārata*), a Nāga,[2] and the Buddha himself.[3] The Pawāyā image of the great Yakṣa Māṇibhadra has a dedicatory inscription,[4] in which the deity himself is styled Bhagavā and the members of the *goṣṭha* (corporation) for whom the image was set up speak of themselves as *Māṇībhadra-bhaktās*. Nemeṣa, too, is called Bhagavā (Mathurā inscription already cited). Thus, both the designation Bhagavat and the use of the term Bhakti are seen to be common to most, as they probably were to all of the contemporary faiths.[5]

Apart from these questions of terminology it will be evident that the facts of Yakṣa worship correspond almost exactly with those of other Bhakti religions. In fact, the use of images in temples, the practice of prostration, the offering of flowers (the typical gift, constantly mentioned), incense, food, and cloths, the use of bells, the singing of hymns, the presentation of a drama dealing with the Līlā of the deity, all these are characteristic of Hindu worship even at the present day.[6] Only the nature of the food is peculiar, and this may be attributed to the relationship of Yakṣas with Rākṣasas; nor will it be forgotten that animal sacrifices and the use of strong liquors still persists in some Śākta cults. Nothing of this cult type is to be found in the Vedas.

7. YAKṢA SOURCES IN BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY

Yakṣas, as we have seen, may be represented by independent cult images, or in connection with other sectarian systems, as attendants,

[1] Pāṇini, IV, 3, 97, speaks of *Bhakti* directed towards Mahārājas, not in a political sense, but with reference to the Four Great Kings (see Bhusari in Ann. Bhandarkar Inst., VIII, 1926, p. 199). For Māṇibhadra as a Lokapāla see Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore*, p. 10.

[2] The Nāga Dadhikarṇa, in an inscription at Mathurā, Lüders' list, No. 85.

[3] Already at Bharhut, in the inscription *Bhagavato Saka Munino Bodho*, and on the Piprahwa vase, *Bhagavato sakiyamuni*.

[4] Garde, M. B., *The site of Padumāvatī*, A. S. I., A. R., 1915-16, Gangoly, O. C. in Modern Review, Oct. 1919; Foucher, in J. B. O. R. S.; Chanda, *Four ancient Yakṣa statues*. Text of the Brāhmī inscription: . . . . *gauṣṭhyā Māṇibhadrabhaktāgarbhasukhitāḥ Maṇibhadrasya pratimā pratiṣṭhapayanti*. . . . .

[5] For the meaning of *Bhagavat*, "Adorable," "Blessed," "Worshipful," etc., see Grierson, *The translation of the term Bhagavat, J. R. A. S.*, 1910; Schrader, *ibid.*, 1911, p. 194; Hopkins, *Epic use of Bhagavat and bhakti, ibid.*, 1912; Govindacharya Svamin, *ibid.*, p. 483.

[6] For an admirable account of the daily office in a modern temple, see (Burgess, J.), *The ritual of Rāmeśvaram*, Indian Antiquary, XII, 1883.

guardians, and worshippers. But not only have both classes of figures their own intrinsic and aesthetic interest (pl. 1, fig. 1, and pl. 8, for example, are magnificent works), they are also of importance as factors in the development of Indian iconography generally. The force of tradition is strong, and Indian art like other arts has always by preference made use of existing types, rather than invented or adopted wholly new ones. The case is exactly parallel to that of religious development, in which the past always survives. We have to do with a conscious sectarian adaptation, accompanied by an unconscious, or at least unintentional, stylistic evolution.

In early Indian art, so far as cult images are concerned, one iconographic type stands out predominant, that is the standing figure with the right hand raised, the left on the hip. Sometimes the right hand holds a flower, or caurī, or weapon; sometimes the left grasps the robe, or holds a flask, but the position of the arms is constant. We are here, of course, concerned only with two-armed images; those with four or more arms do not appear before the second century A. D., when the fundamentals had already been established. Stylistically, the type is massive and voluminous, and altogether plastically conceived, not bounded by outlines; the essential quality is one of energy, without introspection or spiritual aspiration.

Of this type are the early images of Yakṣas, and Yakṣīs, whether independent or attendant. And it is also this type which provided the model for the cult images of other deities, such as Śiva or Buddha, when the necessities of Bhakti determined the appearance of all deities in visible forms.

Making only a passing reference to the close formal relationship recognizable between the oldest known Śiva image, that of the Guḍimallam liṅgam (pl. 17, fig. 1), and the Yakṣas of Bharhut and Sāñcī, and to the facts that the Nyagrodha, Udambara, or Aśvattha tree may be identified with Viṣṇu, and that Śiva, Śaṅkara, Kārttikeya, etc., are all Yakṣas in the Mahāmayūrī list, I propose to speak here only of the part played by the Yakṣa type in evolution of Buddhist types.

In the case of the Buddha figure, as I have recently treated the subject at length in the Art Bulletin (Vol. IX, pt. 4), I shall only point out the stylistic continuity presented in the series: Pārkham image (pl. 1, fig. 1); one of the Yakṣas from Patna (HIIA, fig. 67); Buddha in the Lucknow Museum (HIIA, fig. 79); Bodhisattva in Philadelphia (Art Bull., *loc. cit.*, fig. 50); Friar Bala's image at Sārnāth (pl. 17, fig. 2); Gupta image in the Mathurā Museum (HIIA, fig. 158). In

such a series the relationships are very evident, and there is no room for the insertion of any Hellenistic type.

The Bodhisattvas Padmapāṇi, Vajrapāṇi and Maitreya may be discussed in greater detail.

The earliest Buddha triads are represented, as in plate 9, by a Bodhi-tree supported by two Yakṣas, each with an expanded rose-lotus (*padma*) in hand, or by a symbol (the wheel) between similar Yakṣas with a *caurī* (pl. 10, fig. 1). Yakṣas with a lotus in hand appear as guardian figures (*dvārapālas*) at Sāñcī (pl. 8) and elsewhere (pl. 7). Now, a Yakṣa with a *padma* in hand can only be described adjectivally as *padma-pāṇi;* can it be doubted that the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi (a form or designation of Avalokiteśvara), whom we find a little later attendant on the Buddha or as an independent Buddhist deity, is the same historically and iconographically, as the *padma-pāṇi* Yakṣa of the earlier sculpture? The *caurī*-bearing Yakṣas (HIIA, figs. 84, and 85 right), too, are the same as those of the earlier compositions, but we cannot as a rule give them a name.

The case of Vajrapāṇi is more involved.[1] The one obvious *vajra-pāṇi* of Indian mythology is Indra, whose weapon is the thunderbolt already in the Vedas. In Buddhist mythology Indra is known as Sakka (San. Śakra), and he plays a conspicuous part in the Buddhist legend visiting or aiding the Buddha on various occasions.[2] Buddha-ghoṣa[3] tells us that Vajrapāṇi is the same as Sakka; and Sakka, upon occasion (*Yakkha Suttas,* 2) may be called a Yakkha. But Sakka is never himself a Bodhisattva.

On the other hand Vajrapāṇi, independently of Indra, is called a Yakṣa in the Mahāmāyūrī list, where he is said to be the Yakṣa of Vulture's Peak, Rājagṛha (the work *kṛtālaya* seems to imply that there was a temple). A Tibetan version of the *Vinaya* speaks of a Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi (Gnod-sbyin Lag-na-rdo-rje). And in the *Lalita Vistara,* XV, 66, we have a "benevolent lord of the Guhyakas,

[1] For Vajrapāṇi in addition to references cited below, see also Vogel, *Le Vajrapāṇi gréco-bouddhique,* B. É. F. E. O. XI, 1911, p. 525, where it is observed that Vajrapāṇi and Indra are not necessarily always one and the same persons. M. Foucher has already fully established the Yakṣa origin of the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi (*L'Art gréco-bouddhique . . . .*, II, pp. 48-64). See also Senart, E., *Vajrapāṇi dans les sculptures du gandhāra,* Congr. Int. Orientalistes, 14, Alger, 1905, pp. 111-131.

[2] For a full and valuable discussion of Indra as Sakka, see Mrs. Rhys Davids, Introduction to the *Sakka-pañha Suttanta,* SBB., III., p. 294.

Waddell, *Evolution of the Buddha cult,* p. 118, citing Csoma de Körös, *Analysis of the Dulva,* Asiatic Researches, XX, 64.

[3] Commentary on the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta,* cited SBB, II, 117.

Vajrapāṇi" who appears in the air on the occasion of the Abhiniṣkramaṇa (Going Forth of the Buddha), and who, as remarked by Foucher, "desormais le quittera pas plus que son ombre," becoming, in fact, the Buddha's guardian angel.[1] This Vajrapāṇi is not the same as Sakka, who is independently present on the same occasion.

This Vajrapāṇī is constantly represented in Gandhāran reliefs, and sometimes in those of Mathurā, illustrating scenes from the Life, subsequent to the Going Forth, *c. g.*, Foucher, *loc. cit.*, figs. 191, 195, 197, 199. At his first appearance he is called a "benevolent Lord of the Guhyakas, vajra in hand." Sometimes he holds a *caurī* as well as a *vajra;* moreover, this Vajrapāṇi is generally represented as nude to the waist and without any turban or crown, thus not as a great king, as Indra should be. Moreover, this Vajrapāṇi and Sakka are often present together in one and the same scene (pl. 21, fig. 2).

Perhaps the earliest appearance of a Vajrapāṇi in a Buddha triad may be the example in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (HIIA, fig. 85, left); and here we are in doubt whether to call him Yakṣa or Bodhisattva. It may be doubted whether the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi had been recognized so early. The only early independent image which may be a representation of the Vajrapāṇi, who is not Indra, is a fragment from Mathurā, illustrated in plate 15, figure 2.[2]

Thus there was actually a Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi, not identical with Indra, but having an independent, pre-Buddhist cult; this Yakṣa became the Buddha's guardian angel and attendant, and finally came to be called the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, who sometimes appears in Buddha triads, and is sometimes the object of separate worship (HIIA, fig. 299).

As regards Maitreya, the earliest of the Bodhisattvas to be designated as such, there is less to say. His characteristic emblem is the *amṛta* ("nectar") flask, held in the left hand. It will perhaps occur to the mind of the reader that there are both Bacchanalian Yakṣas, and Bachhanalian Nāgas, who hold a cup or flask in their hands; and as in verbal imagery nothing is more characteristic of Buddhism than the reinterpretation of an old phrase in the interests of present edification (cf. *Lalita Vistara,* VII, 91, "with the Water of Life (*amṛta*) shalt thou heal the suffering due to the corruption of our mortal nature"), so here, perhaps, we have a literal example of the pouring of new wine into old bottles.

[1] Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra,* I, 368: and cf. *ibid.,* II, pp. 48-64.

[2] Vogel, *The Mathura school of sculpture,* A. S. I., A. R., 1909-10, p. 76 and pl. XXVIIIb.

8. WOMAN AND TREE MOTIF

Enough has been said in the course of the present article, or will be found in the accompanying illustrations, to indicate the intimate connection subsisting between spirits and trees.[1] For the rest it will suffice in the present connection to recall the Epic passage, "goddesses born in trees, to be worshipped by those desiring children," such goddesses being designated as dryads (Vṛksakā, Vṛddhikā). There is no motif more fundamentally characteristic of Indian art from first to last than is that of the Woman and Tree. In early sculptures (reliefs on pillars of[2] gateways and railings at Bharhut, Bodhgayā, Sāñcī, and Mathurā) the female figures associated with trees are voluptuous beauties, scantily clothed, and almost nude, but always provided with the broad jewelled belt (*mekhala*) which appears already on the pre-Maurya terra-cotta figures of fertility goddesses,[3] and which the *Atharva Veda* (6, 133) tells us was a long-life (*āyuṣya*) charm. Sometimes these dryads stand on a vehicle (*vāhanam*) such as a Yakṣa (*Guhya*), elephant, or crocodile (*makara*). Sometimes they are adorning themselves with jewels, or using a mirror. Very often they hold with one hand a branch of the tree under which they stand, sometimes one leg is twined round the stem of the tree (an erotic conception, for *latā* is both "creeper" or "vine," and "woman," and cf. *Atharva Veda,* VI, 8, 1, "As the creeper embraces the tree on all sides, so do thou embrace me"). Sometimes one foot is raised and rests against the trunk of the tree. Sometimes there are children, either standing beside the dryad mother, or carried astraddle on her hip. Of the trees represented the

[1] For pre- and non-Buddhist trees, tree-spirits, and sacred groves generally, see Hopkins, *Epic Mythology,* p. 6 f., and Keith, *Religions and Philosophy of the Veda,* pp. 184, 185. Trees and tree-deities play but an insignificant part in the *Rg Veda* and even in the *Atharva Veda* (Macdonnell, *Vedic Mythology,* p. 154) but even here they are connected with human life and productivity; the beings inhabiting trees being called Gandharvas and Apsarases. The *Atharva Veda,* of course, contains many elements incorporated from aboriginal non-Aryan sources. It is perhaps also significant (in view of possible Sumero-Dravidian connections) that in Babylonian tradition immortality and productiveness are original functions of the tree of Fortune (Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia,* pp. 233, 237, etc.).

[2] Plate 4, fig. 2; pl. 5; pl. 6, figs. 2, 3; pl. 11, figs. 1, 2, 3; pl. 14, fig. 2; pl. 19; pl. 22, figs. 1, 2.

[3] Also the so-called Earth goddess of Lauriyā-Nandangaṛh (HIIA, fig. 105): this nude goddess, who is represented also in very early terracottas (see M. F. A. Bulletin, No. 152), may not be a Yakṣī.

aśoka and mango are most usual. At first sight, these figures seem to be singularly out of place if regarded with the eyes of a Buddhist or Jaina monk.[1] But by the time that a necessity had arisen for the erection of these great monuments, with their illustration of Buddhist legends and other material constituting a veritable *Biblia Pauperum,* Buddhism and Jainism had passed beyond the circle of monasticism, and become popular religions with a cult. These figures of fertility spirits are present here because the people are here. Women, accustomed to invoke the blessings of a tree spirit, would approach the railing pillar images with similar expectations; these images, like those of Nāgas and Yakṣas often set up on Buddhist and Jaina sites, may be compared to the altars of patron saints which a pious Catholic visits with prayers for material blessings.

From these types of Yakṣī dryads[2] are evidently derived three types iconographically the same, but differently interpreted: the Buddha Nativity, the aśoka-tree *dohada* motif in classical literature, and the so-called river-goddesses of medieval shrines.

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[1] The array of dryads at Mathurā produces on the mind an effect like that of Aśvaghoṣa's description of the beautiful girls in Siddhārtha's palace garden, who "with their souls carried away by love . . . . assailed the prince with all manner of stratagems" (*Buddhacarita,* IV, 40-53).

But it may be said to be characteristic of Indian temples that the exterior displays the world of sensuous experience (cf. Koṇārak), while the interior chambers are plain and severe, or even empty (cf. the air-liṅgam at Cidambaram): and this arrangement, even for a Buddhist shrine, is not without its logic.

I have scarcely mentioned and have not illustrated the many interesting reliefs and paintings in which tree spirits are represented, not by a complete figure beneath a tree, but as half seen amongst the leaves, *patreṣv ardhakāyān abhinirmaya* (*Lalita Vistara*): a face, hand, two hands, or half body emerging from the branches. Representations of this kind occur already at Bharhut, and survive in the eighteenth century Buddhist painting of Ceylon. The spirits thus represented may be male or female as the case requires.

[2] That the Vṛkṣakās of the railing pillars are properly to be described as Yakṣīs is proved by the inscriptions accompanying the similar figures at Bharhut (cf. Vogel, in A. S. I., A. R., 1906-07, p. 146). Vṛkṣakā is, of course, legitimate, but hardly more than a descriptive term. Some with musical instruments should perhaps be described as Gandharvīs, or even Apsarasas, but none are represented as actually dancing, and to call them dancing girls is certainly an error.

Hoyśala bracket figures, however, which preserve the motif of woman and tree, supported by a dwarf Yakṣa, are often in dancing positions, and accompanied by drummers (Smith, *H. F. A.,* fig. 163; others at Palampet and Belūr).

1. The miraculous birth of the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha,[1] as is well-known, took place in the Lumbinī garden near Kapilavastu and on the road between that city and Devadaha. The tree of which the branch, "bending down in response to her need," served Mahāmāyā as support, is variously called a sāl-tree (*Nidānakathā*), mango (*Aśokāvadāna*), *plakṣa* (*Lalita Vistara*)[2] and aśoka-tree (*Divyāvadāna,* and here plate 20). In the *Divyāvadāna* Aśokā himself is represented as visiting the site and conversing with the genius of the tree, who had been a witness to the Nativity; so that the tree had originally been, or at least had come to be regarded as having been the abode of a tree-spirit when Mahāmāyā halted beneath it. It is, no doubt, the spirit of the tree that bent down the branch to meet Mahāmāyā's hand; indeed, in the drawing of a relief almost identical with our plate 20, reproduced in Burgess, *Buddhist stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta,* plate XXXII, a hand appears visibly from amongst the branches of the Nativity tree. The Buddha himself is sometimes aided in just this way, by a hand put forth from a tree, for example, when he emerges from the waters of Lake Pāṇihata (*Lalita Vistara,* Ch. XVIII), and after crossing the River Nairañjanā (Amarāvatī relief, Vogel, *Indian serpent lore,* pl. VII, a).

We certainly need not and should not regard Mahāmāyā, considered from the point of view of the literature, as having been herself a Vṛkṣakā; but iconographically, as she is represented in Gandhāran

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[1] The Nativity is a stock subject in Buddhist art, Gandhāran, Amarāvatī, and later. Cf. Foucher, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art,* pls. III, IV; *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara,* I, pp. 300 ff. and II, pp. 64-72; *L'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde,* I, p. 163 and fig. 28: HIIA, fig. 104, upper right hand corner: Krom, *Life of the Buddha,* p. 74 (with complete list of representations).

The Amarāvatī reliefs not only come nearest to the Vṛkṣakā type, but also suggests that the Nativity had been represented in Indian art (without the child) previous to its occurrence in Gandhāra (with the child).

Another version of much interest appears at the back of a Chinese Buddha image of date 457 A. D. (Northern Wei) (Burlington Magazine Monograph on Chinese art, Sculpture, Pl. 4, D). There are two ranges; above we have the tree, female attendant, Māyā standing, the child emerging from her side, and three Devas, one with a cloth, ready to receive it; below, the First Bath and the Seven Steps. As the First Bath is here performed by polycephalous Nāgas, which are rarely met with in Gandhāra, but are highly characteristic for Mathurā, there is a probability of direct dependence on an Indian original.

[2] In the *Lalita Vistara* version, the tree is evidently regarded as a caitya-tree, for it is adorned with coloured cloths and other offerings.

and Amarāvatī reliefs and elsewhere,[1] the step is very easy from a Vṛkṣakā holding the branch of a tree and in the *hanché* ("hip-shot") pose, to that of Mahāmāyā giving birth to the child, who was miraculously born from her side.[2] The addition of attendant deities and later a further complication of the scene by a representation of the Seven Steps, etc., would present no difficulty. The literary versions are probably older that the oldest known sculptures of the Nativity;[3] how far each may be dependent on the other can hardly be determined. In any case, it is certain that the sculptor had ready to hand a composition almost exactly fulfilling the requirements of the text, so far as the principal figure is concerned.

2. The *dohada* motif. The, in India, familiar conceit that the touch of a beautiful woman's foot is needed to bring about the blossoming of the aśoka-tree seems to be equally a form of the Yakṣī-dryad theme; one railing pillar, J 55 in the Mathurā Museum, represents a woman or Yakṣī performing this ceremony[4] (pl. 6, fig. 3) and the motif survives in sculpture to the eighteenth century (pl. 19. fig. 2), if not to the present day. In Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* the exiled Yakṣa speaks of himself as longing for his wife no less than the aśoka-tree desires the touch of her foot. Even in the *Mālavikāgni-*

[1] The formula was certainly not, as suggested by Foucher, *L'Iconographie bouddhique,* I, 164, created "par l'art superieur des artistes Indogrecs"; it is only possible that they were the first to put in the attendant figures, but we cannot be sure of even this. Even the crossed legs, described by many European writers, grotesquely enough, as a dancing position, are taken over from the Yakṣī-dryads. Le Coq, *Bilder-Atlas,* figs. 153 and 156 not only describes Mahāmāyā as being in "Tänzerinnenstellung," but also a dryad from Bharhut, who with both arms and one leg is clinging to her tree, while her weight is rested on the other foot (pl. 4, fig. 2); to dance under either of these circumstances would not only be a remarkable acrobatic feat, but in direct contradiction to the whole pose. To stand with crossed legs, particularly when leaning against a tree, is in India a position of rest and therefore not inappropriate (as a dancing pose would be) to the representation of a miraculously painless parturition.

The motif has been well discussed (with reference to this and other misunderstandings) by Berstl, *Indo-koptische Kunst,* Jahrb. as. Kunst, I, 1924; where a Western migration of the motif is also recognized.

[2] It is perhaps worth remarking that Cunningham once "erroneously identified" one of the Mathurā railing dryads "with Māyā standing under the *sāl* tree" (Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus., Mathura,* p. 6).

[3] The legend of the miraculous birth is found already in the *Acchariyabbhūta Sutta,* No. 123, in the *Majjhima Nikāya,* thus considerably antedating the *Nidānakathā* version (Chalmers, in J. R. A. S., 1894). The Four Devas are mentioned.

[4] Vogel, Catalogue, pp. 44, 153; *La belle et l'arbre aśoka,* B. É. F. E. O., XI, 1911; Cf. [Gangoly, O. C.], *A brass statuette from Mathurā,* Rūpam, 2, 1920.

mitra, where Mālavikā, a mortal woman, is to perform the ceremony, the scene takes place beside a "slab of rock" under the aśoka-tree, and this shows that the tree itself was a sacred tree haunted by a spirit.[1]

The word *dohada* means a pregnancy longing, and the tree is represented as feeling, like a woman, such a longing, nor can its flowers open until it is satisfied. Thus the whole conception, even in its latest form as a mere piece of rhetoric, preserves the old connection between trees and tree spirits, and human life.

3. The River-goddesses.[2] The dryad types with *makara* vehicles (pl. 6, figs. 1 and 2, pl. 14, fig. 2, and pl. 19, figs. 1 and 2) bear an intimate relation, not amounting to identity, with the figures of river-goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā, with *makara* and tortoise vehicles placed at the doorways of many northern medieval temples. I propose to discuss this subject more fully elsewhere.

CONCLUSION

The observations collected in the foregoing pages may be summarized as follows:

Kuvera and other Yakṣas are indigenous non-Aryan deities or genii, usually beneficent powers of wealth and fertility. Before Buddhism and Jainism, they with a corresponding cosmology of the Four or Eight Quarters of the Universe, had been accepted as orthodox in Brahmanical theology. Their worship long survived, but in purely sectarian literature they appear only to serve the ends of edification, either as guardians and defenders of the faith, or to be pointed to as horrible examples of depravity.

Yakṣa worship was a Bhakti cult, with images, temples, altars, and offerings, and as the greater deities could all, from a popular point of view, be regarded as Yakṣas, we may safely recognize in the worship of the latter (together with Nāgas and goddesses) the natural source of the Bhakti elements common to the whole sectarian development which was taking place before the beginning of the Kuṣāna period. The designation Yakṣa was originally practically synonymous with Deva or Devatā, and no essential distinction can be made between Yakṣas and Devas; every Hindu deity, and even the Buddha, is spoken

[1] *Mālavikāgnimitra,* Act. III; cf. *Raghuvaṁsa,* VIII, 62.

[2] River-goddesses: Smith, V. A., *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon,* pp. 160, 161 and figs. 111, 112; Maitra, A. K., *The river-goddess Gaṅgā,* Rūpam, 6, 1921; Vogel, *Gaṅgā et Yamunā dans l'iconographie bouddhique,* Études asiatiques, 1925 (the best discussion); Diez, E., *Zwei unbekannte Werke der indischen Plastik in Ethnographisch Museum, Wien.,* Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst und Kultur Asiens, I, 1926.

of, upon occasion, as a Yakṣa. "Yakṣa" may have been a non-Aryan, at any rate a popular designation equivalent to Deva, and only at a later date restricted to genii of lower rank than that of the greater gods. Certainly the Yakṣa concept has played an important part in the development of Indian mythology, and even more certainly, the early Yakṣa iconography has formed the foundation of later Hindu and Buddhist iconography. It is by no means without significance that the conception of Yakṣattva is so closely bound up with the idea of reincarnation.

Thus the history of Yakṣas, like that of other aspects of non-Aryan Indian animism, is of significance not only in itself and for its own sake, but as throwing light upon the origins of cult and iconography, as well as dogma, in fully evolved sectarian Hinduism and Buddhism. And beyond India, if, as is believed by many, characteristic elements of the Christian cult, such as the use of rosaries, incense, bells and lights, together with many phases of monastic organization, are ultimately of Buddhist origin,[1] we can here, too, push back their history to more ultimate sources in non- and pre-Aryan Indian *pūjās*.

Adherents of some "higher faiths" may be inclined to deprecate or to resent a tracing of their cults, still more of dogmas, to sources associated with the worship of "rude deities and demons" (Jacobi) and "mysterious aboriginal creatures" (Mrs. Rhys Davids). But if the Brāhmans in fact took over and accepted from popular sources the concept of devotion to personal deities, and all that this implied, do we not sufficiently honor these thinkers and organizers of theological systems in recognizing that they knew how to utilize in the service of more intellectual faiths, and to embody in the structure of civilization, not only their own abstract philosophies, but also the "forces brutes mystiques" (De la Vallée-Poussin) of pre-Hindu Hinduism? And if some elements of ancient Hindu cult, perhaps of millennial antiquity, are still preserved in the Christian office, this is no more than evidence of the broad unity that underlies religious tendencies and acts everywhere and always; pagan survivals in all current faiths are signs of fulfillment, rather than of failure. And in India it becomes more than ever clear that thought and culture are due at least in equal measure both to Aryan and indigenous genius.

[1] See Garbe, *Indien und das Christentum;* Berstl, *Indo-koptische Kunst,* Jahrb. as. Kunst, I, 1024.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

PLATE 1

1. The Yakṣa Kuṇika (the Pārkham image now in the Mathurā Museum): height 8′ 8″. Photo by Johnston and Hoffmann.

The date and identification of this figure have been matters of great controversy.[1] All that can be safely said is that the inscription is in characters generally corresponding to those of the Aśokan and Piprahwa vase inscriptions. Almost the only significant part of the text in the reading of which all students agree is the name Kuṇika. This name has since been found on the so-called statue of Manasā Devī at Mathurā,[2] which is named in the inscription as that of a Yakṣiṇī, sister of Kuṇika. These data appear to confirm the view long held, that the Pārkham image (so-called from the place of its discovery) represents a Yakṣa and dates from the Maurya period. When first discovered, the Pārkham image was being worshipped by the villagers as a Devatā, the Barodā fragment (HIIA, fig. 15) as a Yakheyā. See also Chanda, R., in Mem. A. S. I., vol. 30.

The Pārkham image is of great importance as the oldest known Indian stone sculpture in the round; it establishes a formulae which can be followed through many succeeding centuries. A female statue from Besnagar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, height 7′ 7″, and perhaps representing a Yakṣi, is also contemporary (see HIIA, fig. 8), so too, or but little later, is a colossal female caurī-bearer from Dīdargañj near Patna (HIIA, fig. 17). There is, or was, another Yakṣa (or king) figure at Deoriya, near Allahābād (see reproduction in my *Origin of the Buddha Image,* Art Bulletin, 1927, Pt. 4, fig. 47); here it can be seen clearly that the left hand is placed on the hip; further, the figure wears a turban, and is sheltered by an umbrella. The Deoriya figure must be of about the same (Maurya) date as the Pārkham image.

2. The Yakṣa Bhagavata Māṇibhadra, set up by a guild of Māṇībhadrabhaktās, at Pawāyā, Gwāliar State, now in the Gwāliar Museum, First century B. C. Photograph by the author.

PLATE 2

1, 2. The Yakṣa Nandi, and another Yakṣa or king; perhaps the Yakṣi Nandi of Nandinagara, or the pair may be the Yakṣas Nandi and Vardhana of Nandivardhana. Patna, second century B. C., now in the Museum at Patna. A. S. photographs.

---

[1] Mr. Jayaswal (J. B. O. R. S., V, 1919) attempted to prove that the inscription included the name of King Kuṇika Ajātaśatru, and he identified and dated it accordingly about 618 B. C. (according to others this Śaiśunāga king died about 459 B. C.). Fatal objections to Mr. Jayaswal's views are raised by Chanda, *Four Ancient Yaksa statues,* in the Journal of the Dept. of Letters, Calcutta University, Vol. IV, 1921, where other references will be found.

[2] For the figure of "Manasā Devī," probably also of Maurya date, see Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. India, 1920-21, pl. XVIII, and *ibid.,* 1922-23, p. 165.

PLATE 3

1. The Yakṣa Kuvera (*Kupiro Yakho*), Bharhut, second century B. C., now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The *vāhanam,* not well seen, is a crouching dwarf demon (Guhyaka?) with pointed ears. India Office photograph.
2. The Yakṣa Supavasu, Bharhut, same date; *vāhanam,* an elephant. Now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. India Office photograph.

PLATE 4

1. A Yakṣī or Devatā from Bharhut, found at Batanmara: *vāhanam,* a running dwarf. India Office photograph.
2. Culakoka Devatā, from Bharhut: *vāhanam,* an elephant. Now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. India Office photograph.

PLATE 5

1. Yakṣī or Devatā from Bharhut; *vāhanam,* a horse accompanied by a dwarf with a water-vessel. Now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.
2. Yakṣī or Devatā: human (?) *vāhanam.* Bodhgayā. India Office photograph.

PLATE 6

1. The Yakṣī Sudarsanā, from Bharhut: *vāhanam,* a *makara.* Now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. India Office photograph.
2. Yakṣī under aśoka-tree; *vāhanam,* a *makara.* From Mathurā, now B. 51 in the Lucknow Museum. L. Mus. photograph.
3. Yakṣī under aśoka-tree, with one foot pressed against its stem (*dohada* motif). From Mathurā, in the Mathurā Museum. A. S. photograph.

PLATE 7

Yakṣa with *padma* in hand (*padma-pāṇi*); and auspicious pair (*mithuna,* Yakṣa and Yakṣī?). At Amīn, near Thanesar. Second century B. C. A. S. photograph.

PLATE 8

Guardian Yakṣa at the base of a pillar, north *toraṇa, Sāñcī.* The panel above shows the worship of a sacred tree (*caitya-vṛkṣa*) in a grove (the Veṇuvana at Rājagṛha); though the theme is here Buddhist, the relief serves very well to illustrate some of the descriptions of Jakkha cēiē cited above. First half of first century B. C. India Office photograph.

PLATE 9

Part of the north *toraṇa,* Sāñcī. The three uprights of the lower series constitute a Buddha triad, with, in the center, the Buddha represented by the Bodhi-tree, and on each side a *padmapāṇi* Yakṣa (prototype of the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi). First half of first century B. C. Photograph by Johnston and Hoffmann.

PLATE 10.

1. West *toraṇa,* Sāñcī, showing Yakṣa (Guhya) Atlantes. Two panels of the right hand pillar show the worship of caitya-trees. India Office photograph.

2. Upper part of north *toraṇa,* Sāñcī, with a caurī-bearing Yakṣa; showing also a symbol (often but wrongly styled *vardhamāna*). There was originally a Buddha triad consisting of a Dhamnacakka between two Yakṣas. First half of first century B. C. Photograph by Johnston and Hoffmann.

PLATE 11

1, 2. Front and rear views of a dryad bracket (Vṛkṣakā and mango-tree) east *toraṇa,* Sāñcī; first half of first century B. C. Photographs by the author.
3. Dryad (Yakṣī or Vṛkṣakā) putting on an earring; with banyan (?) tree. Framed in a "caitya-window" niche. Amarāvatī, second century A. D. or earlier. British Mūseum? India Office photograph.
4. Yakṣa bearing a garland, from rail-coping, Amarāvatī, second century A. D. British Museum? India Office photograph.

PLATE 12

1. *Kusapadalamānava Jātaka,* with the Yakṣī Assamukhi. Railing medallion from Pāṭaliputra, early second century B. C., now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. There are similar medallions at Sāñcī (Stūpa II) and Bodhgayā. Indian Museum photograph.
2. Yakṣa (?) with bell (cf. fig. 29, right). Terracotta, about first century A. D. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. M. F. A. photograph.
3. Yakṣa (?): held by the right arm, not seen in the photograph, is a broad club; thus the Yakṣa might be described as *mudgara-pāṇi* (cf. the Yakṣa Moggarapāṇi, *supra*). Terracotta, Maurya or earlier? Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. M. F. A. photograph.
4. Yakṣa (?) holding a ram; perhaps a bucolic divinity, a kind of Kṣetrapāla. Terracotta, from Ujjain, probably Kuṣāna, first or second century A. D. Author's collection. M. F. A. photograph.

PLATE 13

1. Yakṣas (Guhyas) as Atlantes, Bharhut, Ca. 175 B. C. Indian Museum, Calcutta. India Office photograph.
2. Winged Yakṣas (Guhyas) as Atlantes; from a railing pillar at Bodhgayā, about 100 B. C. Photograph by Johnston and Hoffmann.
3. Yakṣas as Atlantes, Graeco-Buddhist, from Jamālgarhi. One is winged, and provided with a bell. In Lahore Museum. India Office photograph.

PLATE 14

1. Bacchanalian Kuvera, Kuṣāna, late second century A. D. From Mathurā, in the Mathurā Museum. A. S. photograph.
2. Yakṣī or Vṛkṣakā (so-called river-goddess Ganges) originally one of a pair from a doorway (forming the upper parts of the jambs): *vāhanam,* a *makara;* tree, a mango. Gupta, about 400 A. D. From Besnagar, now Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. M. F. A. photograph.

PLATE 15

1. Pāñcika and Hāritī, the Tutelary Pair, patron deities of wealth and fertility. Graeco-Buddhist, from Sahri-Bahlol, now in the Lahore Museum. Early second century A. D. A. S. photograph.

2. Yakṣa (?) Vajrapāṇi from Mathurā. Kuṣāna; early second century A. D.? Height of the fragment, 1′ 9″. Now E 24 in the Mathurā Museum. A. S. photograph.

PLATE 16

1. Yakṣa, on railing to pillar, Kaṅkālī Tīlā, Mathurā. Probably first century A. D.
2. Yakṣa, probably Vaiśravaṇa, with flames, from the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā, same date. Both after Smith, *Jaina stupa of Mathurā*. Both in the Lucknow Museum.

PLATE 17

1. Paraśurāmeśvara liṅgam (Śiva), Guḍimallam, about 100 B. C. For comparison with Yakṣa types from Bharhut, etc. A. S. photograph.
2. Colossal Bodhisattva (Buddha), of Mathurā manufacture, set up by Friar Bala at Sārnāth, 123 A. D. For comparison with Yakṣa types, plate 1, figure 1, and plate 2, figure 1. A. S. photograph.

PLATE 18

1. Gaṇeśa, with chain of bells; from Bhumara. Gupta, about fifth century. A. S. photograph.
2. Dvārapāla, a Yakṣa, with chain of bells. South Indian, Coḷa, about the tenth century. Property of C. T. Loo.

PLATE 19

1. Yakṣī, on door-jamb at Tāḍpatri; *makara vāhanam*. The tree is now much conventionalized and proceeds from the makara's mouth. The parrot (Kāmadeva's *vāhanam*), perched on the Yakṣī's arm, is a further indication that the *makara* in these associations is rather to be connected with Kāmadeva than regarded as a river-symbol. Parrots or parrokeets are represented already on the shoulders of the voluptuous Yakṣīs from the Bhūteśar side in Mathurā: and in the *Lalita Vistara*. Ch. XXI, some of the apsarasas, Māra's (Kāmadeva's) daughters, tempting the Bodhisattva, are said to have parrokeets or jays perched on their heads or shoulders. Smaller Yakṣa (Guhya) Atlantes on right side (cf. plate 13). A. S. photograph.
2. Yakṣī, on door jamb of the Subrahmaṇiya temple at Tanjore, eighteenth century. *Makara vāhanam;* the tree much conventionalized; the Yakṣī holds a parrot and is pressing one foot against the trunk of the (presumably) aśoka-tree (*dohada* motif). Photograph by the author.

PLATE 20

The conception and nativity of Siddhārtha. Upper right, the Dream of Māyā Devī (Mahāmāyā) (Incarnation of the Bodhisattva in the form of a white elephant); one female attendant also sleeping, and the Four Great Kings, the Lokapālas (Kubera, etc.), occupying the four corners of the chamber, on guard. Upper left, The Interpretation of the Dream; Māyā Devī seated, King Suddhodana enthroned, two Brahman soothsayers

seated below. Lower right, the Nativity; Māyā Devī under the aśoka-tree, supporting herself by one hand (woman and tree, or yakṣī motif), with one attendant; to her proper right, the Four Great Kings holding a cloth on which the presence of the infant, miraculously born from her right side, is indicated by two small feet. The stool represents the First Bath. Lower left, Presentation at the Shrine of the Yakṣa Śākyavardhana, as related in the Tibetan Dulva; Mahāprajāpatī, aunt of the child, holding the infant in the cloth, where its presence is again indicated by the two small feet; two female attendants, one with an umbrella. The shrine of the tutelary Yakṣa consists of a tree and altar, the Yakṣa visibly emerging from the altar and bowing to the child. From Amarāvatī, late second century A. D.; now in the British Museum.

Another representation of the same subject, also from Amarāvatī, is illustrated in Fergusson, J., *Tree and Serpent Worship,* Pl. LXIX; here the Yakṣa is leaning forward from a sort of booth which may be called a temple, and bowing to the child. A third example (Burgess, *Buddhist stupas of Amaravati and jagayyapeta,* frontispiece, detail) resembles that of our Plate 20. A fourth, *ib.* Pl. XXXII, 2, differs from our Plate 20 only in minute details.

Plate 21

1. Māyā Devī's dream, Descent of the Bodhisattva, in the form of a white elephant. The elephant is seen in a pavilion, supported by four Yakṣas. Amarāvatī, late second century A. D. India Office photograph.
2. The visit of Indra. On the right, the Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi above, Indra standing below. Kuṣāna, second century A. D., Mathurā. Property of L. Rosenberg, Paris.
3, 4. Pāñcika and Hāritī, from door jambs. Kuṣāna, Mathurā, first or second century A. D.
5. Pāñcika and Hāritī. Kuṣāna, Mathurā, first or second century A. D.
6. Scene from the Buddha's life: the Buddha, nimbate, in center, the Bodhi tree above him; on the proper right, four women, of whom two at least are represented as tree spirits. I cannot identify the scene. Amarāvatī, late second century A. D. British Museum? India Office photograph.

Plate 22.

1. Yakṣī (*vṛksakā,* dryad) bracket, from the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā. Kuṣāna, first century A. D. Lucknow Museum. L. Mus. photograph.
2. Yakṣī, Madura, seventeenth century. Photograph by Dr. Denman W. Ross.
3. *Nārī-latā,* ivory, Ceylon, eighteenth century. Colombo Museum. Author's photograph.
4. Yakṣa, probably Kubera; now C 18 in the Mathurā Museum. Author's photograph.

Plate 23

1, 2. Yakṣa (gaṇa) garland-bearers. One with an elephant's head, suggesting Gaṇeśa. Amarāvatī, late second century A. D. Madras Museum? India Office photographs.
3. Palace of Kāmadeva, a dance of Yakṣas. Central architrave, back face of north *toraṇa,* Sāñcī, about 100 B. C. India Office photograph.

APPENDIX

I

I owe to Professor Walter Eugene Clark the following tale of a Yakṣa, found in the *Divyāvadāna, 275, et seq.* A certain man was the keeper of a *śulka-śālā* or toll-house. When he died, he was reborn among the Vyāḍa-Yakṣas. He appeared to his sons in a dream and told them to make a *yakṣasthāna* and attach a bell. He said that the bell would ring if anyone tried to smuggle merchandise past without paying toll. A man tried to smuggle in a *yamalī* of fine cloth concealed in the stick of his umbrella. The bell kept ringing and the merchants were detained till he confessed.

This is very like the Vaiśāli story cited above, pp. 14, 15. The *yakṣasthāna* may have been a separate shrine, or more likely a shrine made within the toll-house: presumably there was an image, and the bell was hung round its neck.

II

The well-known Besnagar *kalpa-druma* capital, representing a banyan having below its branches three money bags, and a conch, lotus, and jar, from which square coins are welling up, probably represents Kubera in his capacity of Dhanada, "Wealth-giver." The banyan-tree is mentioned in *Mahāvaṁsa,* X, 89 as specifically his abode. Śaṅkha and Padma personified as lords of wealth are amongst the eight treasures of Kubera (*Harivaṁśa,* 2467 and 6004, and *Viṣṇudharmottara,* III, 53). The conch with coins or vegetation rising from it occurs as a symbol elsewhere.

III

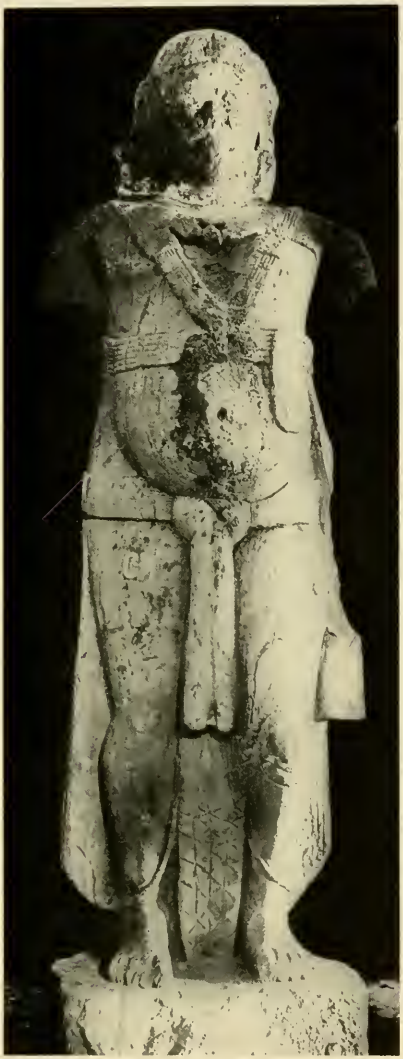
Page 2, note 1, add: It is perhaps significant of the orthodox Vedic Brahmanical attitude towards the Yakṣa cult that in *Baudhāyana Dharmaśāstra,* I, 5, 9 *caitya-vṛkṣas* are mentioned in a list of objects of which the touch causes defilement requiring purification.

IV

Yakṣa of the *Kīratārjunīya* story (p. 14): The Yakṣa, described as a follower of Kubera, appears in Bharavi's drama *Kīratārjunīya,* guiding Arjuna to the Indrakīla (see H. O. S., Vol. 15).

V

The shrine of Kāmadeva in *Mṛcchakaṭika,* I, 32, is situated in a grove (*Kāmadevā adaṇaujjāṇa = Kāmadeva ayatana udhyāna*).



1

2

Yakṣas, from Pārkham and Pawāyā.

(For explanation, see pages 7, 29, 38)

1 2

Yakṣas, from Patna.

(For explanation, see pages 12, 38)

1

2

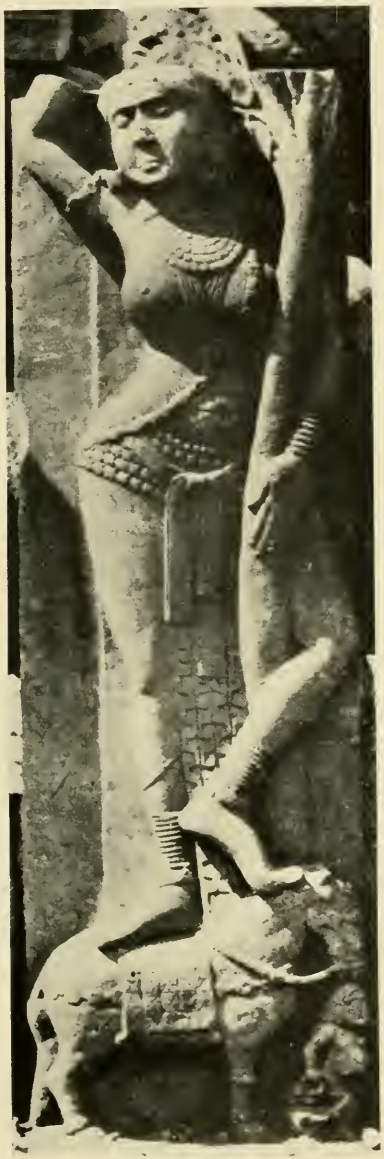
Yakṣas, from Bharhut.

(For explanation, see pages 8, 39)

1 2

Yakṣīs or Devatās, from Bharhut.

(For explanation, see pages 32, 35, 39)



1 2

Yakṣīs or Devatās, from Bharhut and Bodhgayā.

(For explanation, see pages 32, 39)

1 2 3

Yakṣīs, from Bharhut and Mathurā.

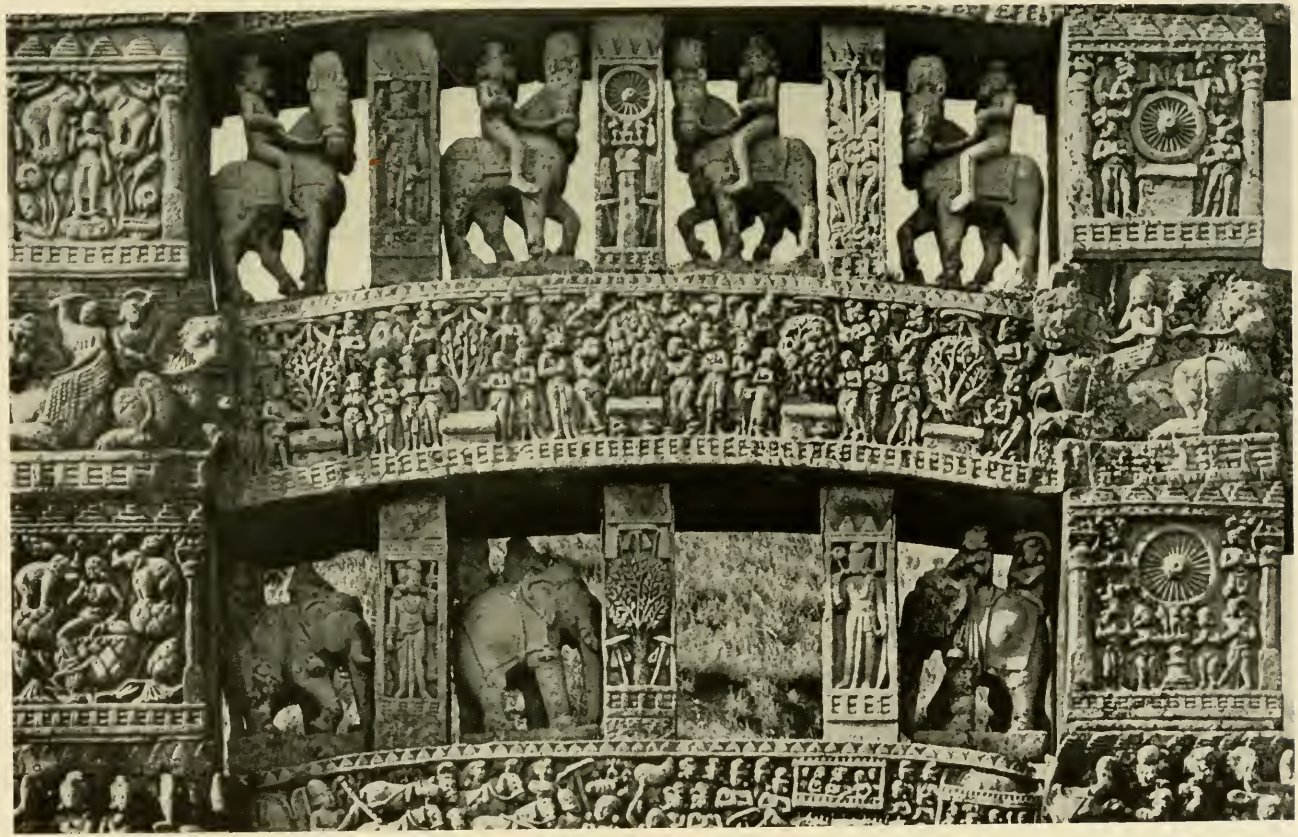
(For explanation, see pages 32, 39)

Yakṣa and *mithuna*, from Amīn.

(For explanation, see pages 30, 39)

Yakṣa, at Sāñcī.

(For explanation, see pages 29, 30, 39)



Yakṣas and Bodhi-tree, at Sāñcī.

(For explanation, see pages 30, 39)

1

Toraṇa, at Sāñcī, with Yakṣa caryatides.

2

Yakṣa and Buddhist symbol, *toraṇa*, Sāñcī.

(For explanation, see pages 39, 40)

1

2

Yakṣī bracket, West *toraṇa*, Sāñcī.

3

Yakṣī, Amarāvatī.

4

Yakṣa, Amarāvatī.

(For explanation, see pages 32, 40)

1
The Yakṣī Assamukhi.

2
Yakṣa with bell.

3
Yakṣa.

4
Yakṣa.

(For explanation, see pages 10, 15, 22, 40)

1

2

3

Yakṣas as Atlantes or Caryatides.

1, Bharhut. 2, Bodhgayā. 3, Jamālgarhi.

(For explanation, see pages 8, 40)

1
Bacchanalian Kubera; Mathurā.

2
Yakṣī, from Besnagar.

(For explanation, see pages 25, 32, 36, 40)

1

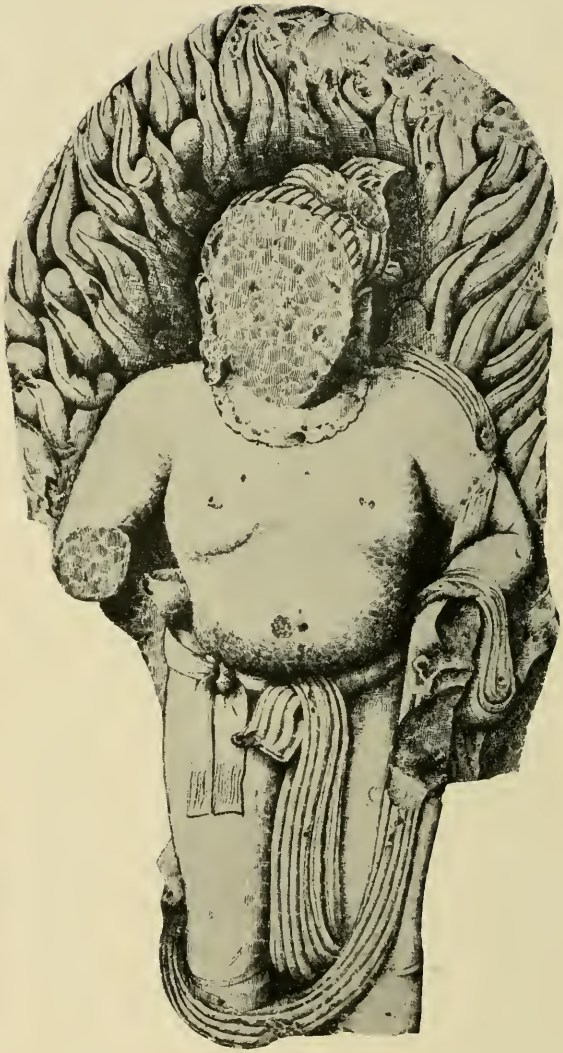
Pāñcika and Hārītī; Sahri-Bahlol.

2

Vajrapāṇi; Mathurā.

(For explanation, see pages 9, 10, 31, 40, 41)

1



2

Yakṣas from Mathurā

(For explanation, see pages 7, 41)

1

Śiva-liṅgam; Gudimallam.

2

Bodhisattva (Buddha), from Mathurā, at Sārnāth.

(For explanation, see pages 8, 29, 41)

1
Gaṇeśa; Bhumara.

2
Yakṣa dvārapāla, S. Indian.

(For explanation, see pages 7, 15, 41)

1

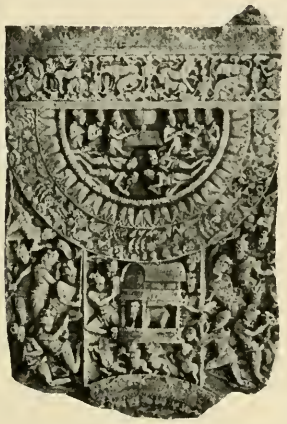
2

Yakṣīs, from Tāḍpatri and Tanjore.

(For explanation, see pages 32, 36, 41)

Conception and Nativity of Buddha; Amarāvatī.

(For explanation, see pages 32, 34, 41, 42)



1

Descent of the Bodhisattva. Amarāvatī.

2

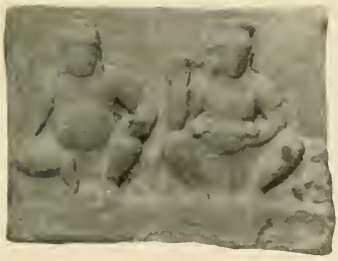
Visit of Indra: Vajrapāṇi above; Mathurā.

3

Kubera; Mathurā.

4

Hāritī; Mathurā.



5

Kubera and Hāritī; Mathurā.

6

Scene from Buddha's life; Amarāvatī.

(For explanation, see pages 8, 9, 10, 31, 42)

1

Yakṣī *toraṇa* bracket; Mathurā.

2

Yakṣī; Madura.

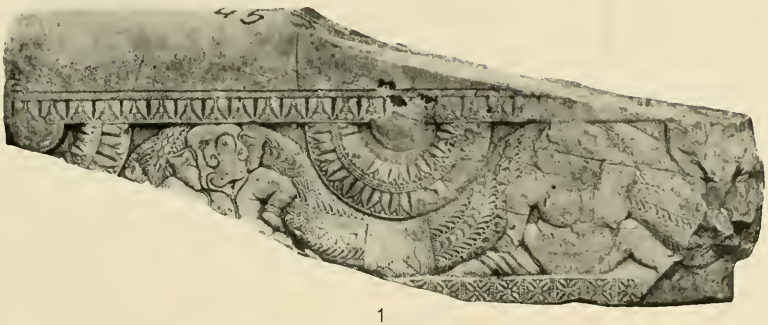
3

Nārī-latā; Ceylon.

4

Yakṣa; Mathurā.

(For explanation, see pages 6, 32, 42)



1

Gaṇa garland-bearers; Amarāvatī.

2

Gaṇa garland-bearers; Amarāvatī.

3

Māra in darbār, with a dance of Yakṣas; Sāñcī.

(For explanation, see pages 7, 8, 13, 42)